

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 219 316

SO 014 171

AUTHOR Mische, Patricia, Ed.; And Others
TITLE Land and World Order.
INSTITUTION Global Education Associates, East Orange, N.J.
PUB DATE 82
NOTE 65p.
AVAILABLE FROM Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017 (\$3.50).
JOURNAL CIT Whole Earth Papers; n17 1982
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Futures (of Society); *Global Approach; Land Settlement; *Land Use; Population Growth; Quality of Life
IDENTIFIERS World Order

ABSTRACT

The papers in this publication discuss the land and how what happens to the land affects us. The publication is one in a series of monographs that examine the linkages between local and global concerns and explore alternative world futures. Examples of topics discussed in the papers follow. The paper "Land and World Order" examines implications of the population crisis on land, deforestation, and the need for unprecedented global cooperation. The paper "Land and the National Security Straitjacket" discusses how national security logic, undertaken originally in defense of the land, has now become so abstracted from its origins that it functions as an end in itself and often at the expense of the land. Another paper examines land ownership in various countries and shows how it affects the quality of life. Recommendations on organic farming are presented by one author. Other topics discussed include the need for planetary management, the vanishing heritage of agriculture, and the innovative concept called the Community Land Trust, which is a means for holding land by the community for the common good. (RM)

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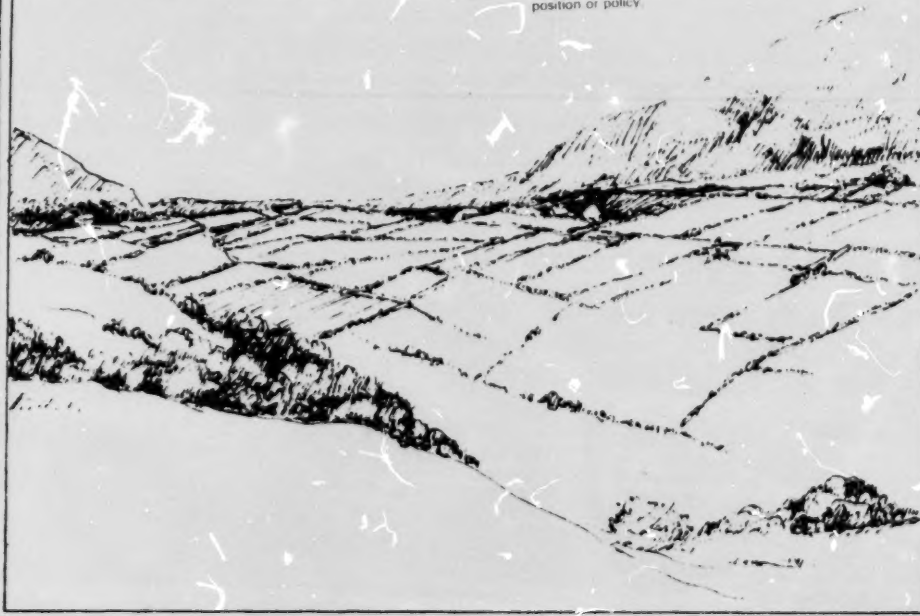
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LAND AND WORLD ORDER

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Published by Global Education Associates
552 Park Avenue, East Orange, New Jersey 07017 U.S.A.

No. 17, 1982

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS (ISSN 0161-2085) is a series of monographs that examine the linkages between local and global concerns and explore alternative world futures. Published intermittently several times a year by Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A., 07017, the papers may be ordered at an annual USA subscription rate of \$20.00 that covers all issues in that calendar year. Overseas surface rate is \$25; overseas air-mail is \$30. All subscribers also receive the quarterly G.E.A. newsletter. No. 17 ©1982.

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LAND AND WORLD ORDER

Editor's Introduction

Dear reader,

This issue of *The Whole Earth Papers*, devoted to land is brought to you with pride and concern.

The land is more than the land. The land is us. It is the food we eat, the air we breathe, the water we drink and the energy of the sun converted into life. And it is more than that. It is beauty and color and form and artistry without which our spirit would die. It is a miracle of inter-connecting micro-organisms, minerals, shimmering blades of grass and millions of plants and animals vibrating with life that function as an organic whole—engineering wizardry beyond human understanding. And it is still more. It is the mind of time holding secrets of unfolding evolution and bones of our ancestors, linking us to all that has preceded and all that will follow.

Many through the millennia have listened to the land and heard the voice of God. The land has made itself known to them as sacred. It has made itself known, too, as friend, as mother, as a healer of troubled minds and broken hearts. It has sounded, too, its terrifying power, quaking and splitting and spitting forth fire and molten lava, swallowing up cities that humans built laboriously through the centuries as if they were tinker-toys and reminding us we are not so powerful after all, we do not have dominion over the earth but are subject to its awesome processes.

Today the land is in trouble, and so are we. What happens to the land happens to us. What we do to the earth we do to ourselves. These articles point to some of the threats to the land and therefore to us: toxic chemicals, radioactive waste and cancers; a million plant and animal species facing extinction; violence, murder and wars for possession of the land; loss of top soil, erosion, salinization, desertification; seed monopolies and land grabs. What will the land say of us? What legacy is this generation marking in the land for next generations to read and suffer?

Some of the authors in this issue share their grief for the state of the land and the state of our numbed souls. Others analyze how it got this way or how we might redeem the land and therefore ourselves. All write with intelligence, love and concern. There is, too, in some of these articles, a quality that comes from speaking not so much *about* the land but from *within* the land. It is as if they have lived in such communion with the land that it is the land itself speaking, asking to be heard through their voices.

There were far more articles submitted for this issue than could be used and, for reasons of space, many good materials and insights cannot be included here. Obviously this is not a definitive coverage of the issue of land and its relationship to world order. We wish to thank all of those who have contributed their time and knowledge and whose love for the land has touched us.

A special word of thanks must be given to Betty Wolcott and Miriam Therese MacGillie. It was Betty who conceived this issue, who gathered many of the articles and who nurtured it through its early stages. Miriam worked with Betty, adding her own special insights and the art work. Both have a love of the land that is deep and contagious. Both see in a renewed relationship to the land the path to a more human world order.

Patricia Mische



LAND AND WORLD ORDER

BY JOHN A. RADANO



In almost all of the major issues that the human race must now deal with in the last years of the second millennium, land is a primary consideration.

A century ago the economic theorist Henry George spoke of the significance of land:

If you would realize what land is, think of what men would be without land. If there were no land, where would be the people? Land is not merely a place to graze cows or sheep upon, to raise corn or raise cabbage. It is the indispensable element necessary to the life of every human being. We are all land animals; our very bodies come from the land, and to the land they return again.¹

His words are applicable in the twentieth century as we assess prospects for the twenty-first. In almost all of the major issues that the human race must now deal with in the last years of the second millennium, land is a primary consideration. We understand land not simply as something humans live on, but something they live in; and, as Henry George said, something our bodies come from and return to. We find identity in the land.

¹Notes are on page 60

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The purpose of this essay is twofold: first to point to some dimensions of the crisis of land today in relationship to the overall global crisis; and, second, to reflect on these crises in their relationship to world order.

Land in Crisis

In the 1970's consciousness was raised on the global dimensions of issues that spell danger to human well-being and survival. The United Nations sponsored a series of world conferences that helped the human family begin to recognize the need for unprecedented global cooperation on some basic issues. These included conferences on the Human Environment (1972), Population (1974), Food (1974), Human Settlements (1976), Water (1977), Desertification (1977) and Science and Technology for Development (1979).

In addition to all of the information gathered and exchanged as a result of these global conferences, two other major reports assessing global trends have been undertaken in the context of the approaching millennium. The first of these, the *Global 2000 Report to the President of the United States*, was commissioned by President Jimmy Carter in 1977 and carried out by the Council of Environmental Quality and the Department of State.² The second report, entitled

North-South: A Program for Survival, was published in the same year, 1980.³ It is frequently referred to as the Brandt Report because the independent commission that undertook the study was chaired by Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1969-1974).

Both of these high level and comprehensive reports identify the inter-relationship of many issues, sound grave warnings about imminent crises arising from economic disparities and environmental deterioration and give alarming statistics about population growth, pressure on natural resources and other problems. Yet despite the ominous trends, both reports reject fatalism and call upon an informed citizenry to act for change.

The findings of these reports and conferences have deep implications for present and future land use. In fact, the most critical problem emerging from the Global 2000 Report has been called humanity's failure to be just and worthy stewards of the land.⁴

Crisis of Environment, Crisis of Land

The Global 2000 Report states that perhaps the most serious environmental development "will be an accelerating deterioration and loss of resources essential for agriculture."⁵ In specifying this the report highlights the multiple issues of the crisis of land:

This overall development includes soil erosion; loss of nutrients and compaction of soils; increasing salinization of both irrigated land and water used for irrigation; loss of high quality cropland to urban development; crop damage due to increasing air and water pollution; extinction of local and wild crop strains needed by plant breeders for improving cultivated varieties; and more frequent and more severe regional water shortages—especially where energy and industrial developments compete for water supplies, or where forest losses are heavy and the earth can no longer absorb, store and regulate the discharge of water.⁶

Crisis in Population: Implications for Land

The soil erosion, the loss of high quality cropland, and other factors just mentioned raise the question of the availability of arable land to support a growing population. Available data indicates that the world's population will grow from four billion in 1975 to 6.35 billion in the year 2000. At present and projected growth rates, the world's population would reach 10 billion by 2030 and approach 30 billion by the end of the twenty first century—a level that corresponds to the U.S. National Academy of Science's estimates of the maximum carrying capacity of the entire earth.⁷ Populations in the sub-Saharan region of Africa and the Himalayan hills of Asia have already exceeded the carrying capacity of the immediate areas, "triggering

an erosion of the land's capacity to support life."⁸

Ninety-two percent of the population growth will occur in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Of the 6.35 billion people in the world in the year 2000, five billion will live in the LDCs.⁹

Can The Land Sustain Such Growing Numbers?

By 2000 the world's croplands will have to feed half again as many people as in 1975.¹⁰ But there will be fewer land resources to go around. In 1975 there were about four-tenths of a hectare of arable land per person on a world-wide average. In 2000 there will only be about one-quarter hectare per person.¹¹ Land under civilization is projected to increase only 4 percent by 2000 because most good land is already being cultivated.¹²

This tightening land constraint has obvious implications not only for food production, but also for energy usage and therefore for prices. Under our present agricultural system, food production is not likely to increase fast enough to meet rising demands unless world agriculture becomes significantly more dependent on petroleum and petroleum-related inputs for higher yields.¹³ Most of the elements that contribute to higher yields, such as fertilizer, pesticides, power for irrigation, and fuel for machinery, depend heavily on oil and gas.¹⁴ Increased petroleum dependence also has implications for the cost of food production. Thus the real price of food is projected to increase 95 percent over the 1970-2000 period, to a good extent as a result of this increased petroleum dependence.¹⁵ Other constraints include accelerated erosion, the loss of natural soil fertility, and further deterioration of the agricultural resource base, all of which may result in an even tighter food picture, with still less production and even higher prices.¹⁶

The loss of good cropland to urban encroachment further complicates the matter, as do migration and urbanization (Urbanization is a global problem and was a central topic of discussion at the United Nations World Conference on Human Settlements at Vancouver, in 1976). Cities and industries are often located on a nation's best agricultural land. In industrialized countries, the amount of land devoted to urban uses has been increasing twice as fast as population. Similar trends are shown for the less developed countries as well.¹⁷

Deforestation

Added to the loss of cropland is deforestation and its multiple effects on food, energy, water supplies and the general health of the environment. Here the poor are especially vulnerable.

If present trends continue, significant losses of world forests will continue over the next twenty years as demand for forest products and fuelwood increases. It is projected that growing stocks of commercial size timber will decline 50 percent per

We need to seek security as a global community. Global security — the security of the world's peoples now and in the future — depends upon a sufficient supply of uncontaminated arable land and water.

capita. According to the Global 2000 Report, the world's forests are now disappearing at the rate of 18-20 million hectares a year (an area half the size of California) with most of the loss occurring in the humid tropical forests of Africa, Asia and South America. According to the projections, some forty percent of the remaining forest cover and growing stocks of commercial size wood in the Less Developed Countries will be gone by 2000.¹⁸ While deforestation is projected to continue until about 2020 when the total world forest area will stabilize at about 1.8 billion hectares, by that time virtually all the physically accessible forest in the LDCs is expected to have been cut.¹⁹

Consequences of these trends are very serious. According to the Brandt Report, unchecked deforestation at present rates would halve the stock of usable wood by the end of the century, depriving more than one billion poor people of their essential fuel for cooking.²⁰ In most of the countries in the poverty belts, nine-tenths of the people depend on firewood as their chief source of fuel. Unrestrained commercial exploitation and increased population have led to soaring wood prices. To satisfy basic fuel needs, animal manures are diverted from food production to cooking.²¹

The firewood crisis is also linked to the food problem in two other ways, illustrating the interrelationship of survival issues and the complexity of the crisis of land:

The destruction of the forests accelerates the erosion of the soil, increasing severe flooding and creeping deserts and reducing soil fertility. And the diversion of manure for use as fuel leads to a loss of agricultural nutrients, damaging the soil structure by failing to return manure to the field. The result is a circular trap. As wood scarcity forces farmers to burn more dung for fuel and to apply less to their fields, the falling food supply will necessitate the clearing of even larger, ever steeper tracts of forests which then intensifies erosion, which in turn further reduces soil fertility.²²

Deforestation is further linked with the food problem by its connection to the water crisis. [The critical situation of water supply was recognized as a concern of global proportions at the UN World Conferences on Water (1977) and on Human Settlement (1976).] This crisis is especially acute in South Asia, the Amazon Basin, and Central Africa where deforestation "will destabilize water flows,

leading to siltation of streams, reservoirs behind hydroelectric dams and irrigation works, to depletion of ground water, to intensified flooding, and to aggravated water shortages during dry periods."²³ If present deforestation trends continue in South and Southeast Asia (where one billion people depend on forested mountain watersheds for their water), erosion, siltation, and erratic streamflows will seriously affect food production.²⁴

Finally, deforestation at present rates will reduce to a dangerous level the "absorptive capacity" of trees to reduce carbon dioxide pollution. Unhalted deforestation, then, according to the Brandt Report "...is not just a risk to the environment, it is a plundering of our planet, without regard for the generations to come."²⁵

Desertification

Loss of cropland and deforestation are related to desertification, another aspect of the crisis of land. Desertification does not necessarily mean the creation of Sahara-like sand deserts. It includes a variety of ecological changes that destroy the cover of vegetation and fertile soil in the earth's drier regions, rendering the land useless for range or crops. Its principal causes are overgrazing, destructive cropping practices and use of woody plants for fuel.²⁶

Desertification is cited as one of the reasons why serious deterioration of agricultural soils is projected to occur worldwide.²⁷ It is estimated that desertification claims around 6 million hectares a year (an area about the size of Maine). This includes 3.2 million hectares of irrigated farmland. It is also presently estimated that the world's desert areas will expand almost 20 percent by the year 2000 as increasing numbers of people in the world's drier regions put more pressure on land to meet their needs for livestock range, cropland and fuelwood.²⁸

The danger to agriculture especially affects the Less Developed Countries, where deterioration of soils is occurring rapidly because of the spread of desert-like conditions. But agricultural prospects are affected in industrial nations as well, where present rates of soil loss in many countries cannot be sustained without serious implications for crop production. Prospects for change are not good.²⁹

Species Extinction

Aspects of the crisis of land previously mentioned are closely related to the urgent problem of loss of plant and animal resources. It is estimated that, because of the loss of wild habitat and because of pollution, 15 to 20 percent of all species on earth — (between half a million and two million species) — could be extinct by 2000. Extinction of species on this scale is without precedent in history.³⁰

From one-half to two-thirds of these extinctions will result from the clearing or deterioration of tropical forests mentioned above. Most of the losses will involve insect, other invertebrate, and plant

species, many of them unclassified by scientists. And the potential value of this generic reservoir is immense:

If preserved and carefully managed, tropical forest species could be a sustainable source of new foods (especially nuts and fruits), pharmaceutical chemicals, natural predators of pests, building materials, speciality woods, fuel, and so on.³¹

As the Global 2000 Report points out, some significant genetic losses will occur in subspecies and varieties of cereal grains which could be helpful for the breeding of resistance to pests and pathogens and the development of high-yield varieties. But these genetic materials are rapidly diminishing as marginal wild lands are brought into cultivation. At just the time when the increasing practice of monoculture based on a few strains is making crops more vulnerable to disease epidemics or plagues of pests, genetic resources to resist such problems are being lost.³²

Non-Fuel Minerals

Non-fuel minerals also need to be taken into account. Though the projections in the Global 2000 Report point to no mineral exhaustion problems of an urgent nature,³³ consumption patterns will continue to reflect the disastrous gap between rich and poor nations. It is expected that the global demand for and consumption of most major non-fuel mineral commodities will more than double by 2000.

According to projections the one-quarter of the world's population that inhabits industrial countries will continue absorbing more than three-quarters of the world's non-fuel minerals production. The LDC share of non-fuel mineral use will increase but slightly. For example, Latin America, Africa and Asia over the 1971-75 period used 7 percent of the world's aluminum production, 9 percent of the copper, and 12 percent of the iron ore. In 2000, the three-quarters of the world's population living in these regions will use only 8 percent of aluminum production, 13 percent of copper production and 17 percent of iron ore production.³⁴

The Need for Reform

These multiple problems of soil erosion, population increase, loss of cropland, deforestation, desertification and other land-related issues call for major changes in human behavior if we are to preserve the land's carrying capacity. Otherwise the trends over the last two centuries toward improved health and longer life may come to an end. Hunger and disease may claim more lives.³⁵ Poverty will persist.

The Brandt Report calls for a many-sided attack on mass poverty. This includes promoting rural development, agricultural development, industrialization



and migration. It advocates greater efforts in dealing with the issues mentioned above such as water and soil management, reforestation, finding employment for the landless, and other long-term measures.³⁶

Food output is an immediate and continuing problem. The aim must be to abolish hunger and malnutrition by 2000 through greater food production, intensified agricultural development, and measures for international food security.³⁷ The poorer countries will need more outside assistance for agriculture.³⁸ New models are needed for agricultural development in the Third World since the western agricultural model with a high degree of mechanization and use of chemicals cannot be simply transferred to developing countries. There is need to develop technologies adapted to local soils, climate, social and economic conditions.³⁹

A key to many of these efforts will be agrarian reform, giving control of the land to more people. The Brandt Report calls agrarian reform a critical means of benefiting the poor. It suggests some of the ways such reforms can be made. As examples, in some countries the main issue is giving greater security of tenure. In others, division of large parcels of land into smaller units will permit more intensive cultivation.⁴⁰

Eric Eckholm, an authority on ecological problems, put the need for agrarian reform in sharper terms:

Many of the international community's widely shared goals—the elimination of malnutrition . . . the protection of productive soils and ecologically vital forests—are not likely to be achieved without radical changes in the ownership and control of the land. It is a delusion to think that the basic needs of the world's poorest people will be met without renewed attention to the politically sensitive land tenure question. It is even a greater delusion to think that the dispossessed of the earth

will watch their numbers grow and their plight worsen without protesting. The issue of land reform will not go away.⁴¹

The National Security Straitjacket

This call for a renewed focus on the land issue is very urgent. But like other issues outlined by the two studies that we have been examining, land reform threatens not only certain vested economic interests. It also threatens—at least in the short view of a nation-state system based upon the obsolete principle of territorial sovereignty—the mobilization of the National Security State. The result is that land reform and other necessary adjustments to present trends and policies are shelved, victims of the national security straitjacket.

The nature of this security straitjacket has been outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in their book *Toward a Human World Order*.⁴² The specific relationship between today's crisis of land and this straitjacket is spelled out in more detail by Gerald Mische in the essay published here. Entitled "Land and the National Security Straitjacket," the essay shows how land has been a major casualty of the mobilization of all nations—rich and poor, capitalist and communist—for military, monetary and scarce resource security.

Lacking a system of world law and effective global institutions to cope with the new global crises and insecurities of an independent world, national leaders are giving priority to capital-intensive technology and massive corporate development goals that neglect basic human needs. Absorbed by aggregate military and economic goals, they avoid facing up to the relationship between true national security and a world security system capable of dealing with the grave survival issues identified above.



Toward Survival: The Land and World Security

The crises of land, population, environmental breakdown, natural resources and the arms race are global crises. All are related to individual and national security. None can be adequately faced by a single nation alone. We need to begin thinking of national security in a larger context. We have to see national security in terms of global security. Land issues are critical in this perspective.

The Brandt Report states that "there is much in favor of a 'program of survival' with common and unifying objectives. Our goal must be 'a global community based upon a contract rather than compulsion.'"⁴³ We need to seek security as a global community. Global security—the security of the world's people now and in the future—depends upon a sufficient supply of uncontaminated arable land and water.

Toward Survival: The Land and World Order

Despite the great problems cited in these reports and in many other sources, changes for the better are beginning to take place. For example, in some areas forests are being replanted after cutting. Some nations are taking steps to reduce soil losses and desertification. As interest in energy conservation grows, funds are being invested to explore alternatives to petroleum dependence. Some wildlands with their genetic resources are being protected. Natural pesticides and selective pesticides are being substituted for destructive pesticides. But still, as the Global 2000 Report states, changes undertaken to date "...are far from adequate to meet the global challenges projected in this study."⁴⁴

The Need For Unprecedented Global Cooperation

Both the Brandt Report and the Global 2000 study cite the prompt need for bold initiatives, fundamental changes and dynamic new approaches around the world both immediately and for the longer run. Otherwise, worsening poverty, environmental degradation, and human suffering cannot be prevented.⁴⁵ According to the Global 2000 document, "the needed changes go far beyond the capability and responsibility of this or any other single nation. An era of unprecedented cooperation and commitment is essential."⁴⁶ And further:

Unless nations collectively and individually take bold and imaginative steps toward improved social and economic conditions, reduced fertility, better management of resources, and protection of the environment, the world must expect a troubled entry into the twenty-first century.⁴⁷

To quote the Brandt Report: "The challenges for the next decades will not be met by an adversary system of winners and losers—but only by one founded on human solidarity and international cooperation amongst all."⁴⁸ And more specifically:

It will not be possible for any nation or group of nations to save itself either by dominion over others or by isolation from them. On the contrary, real progress will only be made nationally if it can be assured globally. And this global approach cannot be limited to economic problems: it must also take into consideration the great complexity of human society.⁴⁹

Toward a New View of Security

Problems of global concern related to survival issues are presently dealt with in terms of national security in its various dimensions, but with its military aspect as an overriding concern. Thus, most governments in developing countries have increased their military expenditures in ways that bear little relationship to their security needs and at the expense of peaceful economic development.⁵⁰ In the present they perceive that they have little choice. They too need to compete for survival. But as stated in the Brandt Commission Report, human survival depends not only on military balance, "but on global cooperation to ensure a 'sustainable' prosperity based on equitably shared resources. Much of the insecurity in the world is connected with the divisions between rich and poor countries."⁵¹ Therefore the world's security can be increased, and the masses of people currently excluded from a decent life can have a brighter future, if military expenditures can be controlled and some of the savings reallocated to development.⁵²

Thus, the Brandt Commission advises that an important task of constructive international policy has to be the provision of a new and more comprehensive understanding of security, less restricted to the purely military aspects. True security in the global context cannot be achieved by increased military expenditures, which reflect a very narrow view of national security. Rather, true security requires the creation of basic conditions for peaceful relations among nations, and solving not only the military but also the non-military problems that threaten them.⁵³

It requires the creation of a world order that supports peace and human welfare. This is why "the goal of building up a globally respected peace-keeping mechanism, powerful enough to prevent conflicts turning into warfare should be kept constantly in mind."⁵⁴ By securing the integrity of states, this peace-keeping machinery ought to free resources for development. Such a mechanism would surely help to make the needed transition from national security to global security, given the realities of the interdependence of nations.

The Need For a New World Order

Since the present world conditions make it necessary for nation-states to pursue national security on their own terms, and especially through military strength, and since this situation has intensified the crisis of land and other problems on a global scale,

then it is amply clear how important it is to work towards a new world order. The Brandt Report is very definite in this regard:

In our terms of reference we said that we would keep the need for a new international order at the center of our concerns. The present world economic and political environment only adds urgency to this task. We are convinced that the world community will have to be bold and imaginative in shaping the new world order and it will have to be realistic in its endeavors.⁵⁵

The Report argues that change is inevitable. The question is not *whether* a new order will come about. Rather, the question is *when and how* the world community will take the decisive steps necessary to bring it about. Otherwise, the change will be forced upon us through an unfolding of events over which we have little control. It is in the self interest of all countries and peoples to act without delay to bring about a preferred and democratic world order.⁵⁶ A preferred order is one that is person centered. Fundamental to the process must be a global moral consensus that the basis of any world or national order must be *people and respect for their rights* as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁵⁷

A global security system will take time to achieve.⁵⁸ But when we consider the dimensions of the global crisis as we approach the year 2000 and the questions it raises about human survival, we realize the urgency of moving ahead.

From the two reports and other sources under discussion, one must conclude that now is the time for a cooperative global approach, an ecumenical approach, in the deepest sense of that word, that rallies together the peoples of many nations, many religions and many cultures in the quest for an order in which survival needs will be better met and ensured. The land issue will be fundamental in any well considered quest for such a new global order. □

We are convinced that the world community will have to be bold and imaginative in shaping the new world order, and it will have to be realistic in its endeavors.

— Brandt Commission Report

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National security logic, undertaken originally in defense of the land, has now become so abstracted from its origins that it functions as an end in itself and often at the expense of the land.



LAND AND THE NATIONAL

BY GERALD F. MISCHE

Throughout history, group security has always been closely related to the land. This relationship has not been static. As the problems and means of pursuing security changed, the nature of the relationship between security and the land has changed as well.

In the beginning the relationship was a benign one. But in time, it has become increasingly destructive. Today — as history's inexorable thrust toward ever wider circles of human interdependence is breaking down the territorial sovereignties of our nation-state system — the relationship between national security and land is destroying the land itself, and with it the fundamental basis of all security.

Our earliest ancestors were hunters and gatherers. Attuned to the earth, they perceived it as sacred, as a mother from whom all life was nourished. This sense of the sacred was evident in the attitude which many tribal societies had toward land ownership.

In their worldview, the land was not something for human beings to own, manipulate or sell. Rather than having power over the earth, our tribal ancestors saw themselves as *part* of the earth processes. They were co-habitants with other living beings. Animals,

birds, insects and plants were all seen as parts of one interdependent whole that was sustained by a sacred presence uniting all reality. The human task was to live in harmony, or right relationship, with the land and all that inhabited it.

The Agricultural Revolution

The advent of agriculture, however, brought a gradual change in this view of the land. It changed the framework for pursuing security. Group security no longer was sought through a mobile, nomadic existence. It was now pursued through a *particular parcel* of land. Land gradually became something to be "owned." No longer a common heritage of *all* who lived on the earth, land was now claimed as property of a particular sovereign people. Security came to be based upon territorial borders, borders drawn to separate "our" land from that of "foreigners." The task was to make those borders secure, i.e., *impenetrable*. Values, culture and societal structures were mobilized accordingly.

Cultivation of the land brought significant benefits. A planned and thus more secure food supply made it possible to abandon the pattern of constant tribal migration. Greater numbers of people could be supported on a given parcel of land.

Land cultivation also made possible *food surpluses*. These surpluses had an immense, far-reaching impact on history: they not only laid the foundations for

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SECURITY STRAITJACKET

Masculine Power Paradigm

expanded trade, they also freed some members of society for other endeavors. The result was a greater division of labor. This specialization made possible the development of more complex forms of religion, politics, commerce, education, architecture, the arts, all of which led to the rise of the great civilizations.

The agricultural revolution occurred slowly and at different times and in different areas of the earth over the past 10,000 years. In some areas of the world, the agricultural revolution is still very recent. But wherever and whenever it occurred, a society's security was no longer dependent upon mobility of the tribe, but upon "securing" a fixed territory. Land became an object to be possessed, and, once possessed, to be fought over and defended. Historians suggest that *organized* warfare was invented during this period around the goal of territorial security.

The emergence of the claim of ownership of land by a sovereign people was accompanied by extensive changes in worldviews and relationships to the earth. Land began to lose its sacred character when it was seen as a human possession instead of belonging to the gods. Human beings gradually ceased seeing themselves as *part of* the earth and subject to its laws. The new paradigm became instead one of dominion over the earth. Dominion over other human beings followed as a subsequent extension of the power paradigm, as did class systems, feudal relationships and slavery. The new power paradigm of dominance was gradually codified in many societies as "god ordained."

The defense of territory had a profound impact on sex roles, moral values and social priorities. In a monograph entitled "Women, Power and World Order,"¹¹ Patricia Mische reflects upon the relationship between the emergence of masculine dominance and the historic quest for territorial security. After examining the traditional distinction between values defined as "masculine" and those defined as "feminine," she relates the suppression of the feminine to this over-riding preoccupation with territorial security.

The values required for the protection of land and territory against foreign attack have traditionally been the so-called "masculine" values: physical strength and power, strong will, rationality, suspicion, aggressiveness, competitiveness, bravery, secrecy, and control of emotions. When applied in isolation from the feminine, these are the values of dominance — i.e., of "power over."

Conversely, the so-called "feminine" values are seen as debilitating or subversive to group security: gentleness, nurturance, trust, intuitiveness, patience, and emotional openness. Such values and characteristics have traditionally been rejected as impractical or dangerous to territorial security.

What relevance does this masculine/feminine value question have in a discussion on land? Its relevance relates to the paradigm of dominance, of "power over," that is inherent to the quest for group security within the framework of territoriality. We are

speaking of something more fundamental than just the subordination of the feminine. We are touching upon the crisis of humanistic/religious values, a crisis that profoundly affects our attitude toward and use of the land. Inequity in land ownership, pollution of the earth, destruction of arable soil, use of food as an instrument of foreign policy, export-oriented agriculture, and the rape of natural resources have roots in the dominance of the "masculine" security priorities that have historically arisen in defense of territorial sovereignty.

The value crisis in the world's national leadership is not so much *personal* as it is *structural*. Because of the nature of its security goals and tasks, the territorial state pursues values that are often in opposition to those which individuals have traditionally been taught to integrate as the basis of their personal morality:

- *Individuals* may be morally opposed to killing or to the rape of the land. The *nation-state* accepts killing "the enemy" and polluting and depleting of soil as necessary for maintaining military, monetary and resource security.
- *Individuals* may hold that ecological destruction is morally wrong. *Nation-states*, hold that such destruction may be "strategically" necessary in order to "contain and limit the enemy."
- *Individuals* may support programs of land reform as a moral imperative of social justice and of a stewardship that sees land as a providential common heritage for the total community. But the *nation-state* sees land as the source of scarce mineral resources and of export commodities needed to rectify balance-of-payments deficits.
- *Individuals* may embrace development models scaled according to traditional family farms and "small is beautiful" patterns. But *nation-states* embrace capital-intensive, corporate agricultural models, typified by large agri-business empires which can provide the massive financial, technological, logistical, transport and trade capacities needed to facilitate the export sector of the modern national-security-state.
- *Individuals* may hold that lying, stealing, and bribing are morally wrong. But *nation-states* hold that such behavior is sometimes "strategically" necessary and even commendable when it serves "national security" and "national interests."

Reflecting these attitudes, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. once wrote, "Saints can be pure, but statesmen, alas, must be responsible. ... A nation that rejects national interest as the mainspring of its policy cannot survive." Schlesinger was writing in defense of the "necessary amorality" of the nation-state in foreign policy. Asked the question whether moral principles should decide issues of foreign policy, he answered, "as little as possible."²

The problem here is not rooted primarily in the frailty of human nature, nor in a macho inclination of the male psyche. Its primary roots are in the structure of territorial sovereignty.

Some spokespersons of the women's rights

movement attribute such amorality and macho foreign policy patterns to a drive for dominance which, they claim, are inherent in the male psyche. In their view of history, the male psyche, macho in nature, early on compelled men to seize power. Not only did men dominate women, they also dominated the earth. The growing rape of the land in our contemporary world, therefore, is seen as a logical consequence of this victory of the male psyche.

An assumption of this view of history is that once women get their voice, the masculine power paradigm can be replaced with a more holistic view. "Power over" will give way to a more "feminine" values emphasis on equality and respect for all life.

As we have seen, however, the values required for the protection of land and territory against foreign attack have traditionally been the so-called "masculine" values. All leaders, women as well as men, have found themselves caught in the straitjacket of territorial security priorities. This is affirmed by past and present history. Even those isolated instances in which women became heads-of-state bear witness to the masculine straitjacket of national security priorities. Consider the following list:

Elizabeth I of England
Catherine of Russia
Victoria of England
Indira Gandhi
Golda Meir
Margaret Thatcher

Prime Minister Thatcher's nickname, "the Iron Lady," helps illustrate the point. She wears feminine clothes, often graced by a colorful scarf. She is immaculately coiffured. Next to her chair at #10 Downing Street is a silver tea set. But her public policy decisions are made with the iron glove of national security decision-makers. Margaret Thatcher may be very gentle, caring, compassionate, intuitive and nurturing—all "feminine" characteristics—in her personal life. But when she sits in the chair of national power, responsible for Britain's security in today's interdependent, but lawless, global arena, it is not surprising that she puts these "womanly" values aside. The demands of mobilizing for arms competition, for balance-of-payments goals and for scarce resource security—demands which are inherent in today's nation-state systems—require her to take a macho stance in domestic and international policy making.

This is not to say that it makes no difference at all what type of person becomes head-of-state or assumes other national leadership positions. Nor is it to infer that all ideologies are the same. People *do* make a difference, as does the worldview or ideology that he or she embraces. But too much has been attributed to such differences. As Patricia Mische and I pointed out in our book, *Toward A Human World Order*,³ leaders of all nations—rich and poor, capitalist or socialist—find themselves caught in the dilemma of national security priorities.

Powerlessness of Leaders

It is inadequate to speak only about the

The crisis of land can only be resolved if there is an understanding of the distortions of values and priorities which result from the principle of territorial sovereignty and in the security priorities and masculine power paradigm that emanate from that principle.



powerlessness of "the people." To place our analyses and strategies merely in an oppressor/oppressed framework prevents us from identifying the fact that national leaders are also increasingly powerless. Only if we identify this second type of powerlessness will our work be capable of truly liberating "the people" from their oppression.

The powerlessness of which we speak is not the powerlessness of leaders to make unilateral decisions. It is not a powerlessness to make war with weapons of mass destruction, nor a powerlessness to ravage the earth's environment and scarce resources, nor a powerlessness to deplete and destroy precious arable land. For, in varying degrees, the leaders of today's nations *do* wield such power. Theirs is a power unprecedented in history.

The powerlessness of national leaders in today's interdependent lawless world exists *despite* such unprecedented power. Even the best intentioned of national leaders are increasingly powerless to replace the priority of national security goals and the macho value frame that, in our present system of sovereign states, are a logical part of strategies to achieve such goals.

This straitjacket has been a concept throughout recorded history. So, in one sense, nothing has changed. But in another profound sense, a great deal has changed in the concept and scope of what constitutes national security.

The gradual evolutionary thrust since the Industrial Revolution toward an interdependent world economy has broadened the concept of national security. Nations today are no longer threatened only militarily. For many countries, greater threats come from devastating balance-of-payments deficits and inadequate or scarce resources upon which to build their economy. Lacking a trans-national system with the means and authority to help them achieve security in these three areas of military, monetary and resource insecurity, national leaders everywhere find themselves caught in the straitjacket of national

security mobilization. It is a straitjacket that transcends ideology. It transcends distinctions of East and West, of North and South, of rich and poor, of capitalist and socialist.

Land: An Instrument of National Security

Schlesinger's observation that "saints can be pure, but statesmen, alas, must be responsible" cannot be easily dismissed. The dilemma is real. Failing to recognize the dilemma of the security straitjacket, we can too easily fall into facile analyses. We can too easily attribute injustice, sexism, racism, war, environmental destruction and dehumanization only to flawed human nature, or to a flawed ideology. Our solutions and strategies, therefore, frequently give priority exclusively to personal conversion, or concentrate on ever greater expenditure of time and finances for ideological crusades.

The real world, however, is not so simple. Group security priorities impact, and often override, both personal immorality and ideological excesses.

Given the historic system of territorial sovereignty, the nation is considered more important than the individual citizen. This priority transcends ideology. In the constructs of this system, the nation must survive at all costs. The citizen is expendable and so is traditional morality. Also expendable is land. National security logic, undertaken originally in defense of the land, has now become so abstracted from its origins that it functions as an end in itself and often at the expense of the land.

We have seen how the worldview of our early ancestors was affected by the priority given to communal land ownership. The desacralization which followed undercut the original perception of being part of the earth. The new perception of having power over the land paved the way for much subsequent injustice, economic as well as social. Only in our times, however, has it come to threaten the very survival of the human species.

As John Radano points out in his preceding article, "Land and World Order," a series of United Nations Conferences has spoken to various dimensions of this survival crisis:

Human Environment (1972)

Population (1974)

Food (1974)

Human Settlements (1976)

Water (1977)

Desertification (1977)

Science and Technology for Development (1979)

Also speaking to this survival crisis is the *Global 2000 Report to the President* which highlights the many issues that relate to what the authors consider "an accelerating deterioration and loss of resources essential for agriculture." Serious problems include soil erosion; depletion of nutrients and composition of soil; increasing salinization of irrigated land; crop damage from air and water pollution; loss of arable land to industrial, urban and mineral resource development projects; extinction of crop strains; growing shortages of water; deforestation; desertification; the multiple demands of expanding populations; and the need for agrarian reform. All are issues which must be analyzed within a context of global interdependence and world order. Their resolution requires a shift in worldview.

A Crisis of Perception

We need to deal with the crisis of land in a non-fragmented way. In an article subtitled, "A New Vision of Reality," Fritjof Capra, who also wrote *Tao of Physics*, states that the multiple problems which confront humankind today are not separate problems. Rather, they are different facets of one and the same crisis, one that is essentially a "crisis of perception." We can apply this analysis to the issue of land.

Capra claims that, like the crisis of physics in the 1920's, this crisis of perception is rooted in our continued embrace of an obsolete, mechanistic world view which does not correspond to the reality in which we live:

Today we live in a globally interconnected world in which biological, psychological, social and environmental phenomena are all interdependent. To describe this world appropriately we need a new paradigm, a new vision of reality—a fundamental change in our thoughts, perceptions and values. The beginnings of this change, or the shift from this mechanistic to the holistic conception of reality, are already visible in all fields and are likely to dominate the entire decade. The gravity and global extent of our crisis indicates that the current changes are likely to result in a transformation of unprecedented dimensions, a turning point for the planet as a whole.⁵

Capra gives the example of economics. Criticizing it for remaining fragmentary and reductionistic, he says that most economists "fail to recognize that the economy is merely one aspect of a whole ecological

and social fabric." Capra asserts that economists are inclined to "disassociate the economy from the fabric in which it is embedded, and to describe it in terms of simplistic and highly unrealistic theoretical models."

Especially relevant to the crisis of land in Capra's analysis is the mechanistic view of the world that evolved in the 17th century based on the scientific discoveries of Galileo, Descartes, Newton and others. Out of the experiments of Galileo and Newton came an articulation of physical laws of nature. Elaborating this concept of "natural laws," Descartes built a comprehensive system of thought based upon a mechanistic vision of reality. It postulated the *fundamental division between mind and matter* which has come to dominate the scientific view.

Social analysts subsequently developed the social sciences within the same dualistic and mechanistic framework. Locke, Hobbes, and Rousseau applied the Newtonian concept of physical laws to political science, identifying "natural social laws" and accordingly defining the scope and principles which political sciences were to follow. Similarly, the physiocrats, a group of economic thinkers of whom Adam Smith was the most illustrious, postulated "natural economic laws." According to Adam Smith, these natural economic laws operated like an "invisible hand," quite independent and apart from other realities.

Capra argues that this mechanistic perception of economics results in economic and political policies that are inherently anti-ecological.

Whereas the surrounding ecosystems are organic wholes which are self-balancing and self-adjusting, our current economies and technologies recognize no self-linking principle. Undifferentiated growth—economic, technological and institutional growth—is still regarded by most economists as the sign of a "healthy" economy, although it is causing ecological disasters, widespread corporate crime, social disintegration and ever increasing likelihood of nuclear war.⁶

Mistakenly striving for scientific rigor, most economists avoid identifying the value system upon which their economic models are based. Because of this, according to Capra, most economists tacitly accept the "highly imbalanced set of values which dominates our culture and is embodied in our social institutions."

Capra's insights are valuable. He argues that modern physics is leading the way in breaking out of this Newtonian-Cartesian conceptual straitjacket and laying foundations for a worldview which identifies the interrelatedness and dynamic reality of all phenomena.

Toward a Global Public Sector

To articulate a more relevant and holistic worldview, however, is not enough by itself. It is only a first step. We must face up to a second challenge. For we must implement any new paradigm shift with a

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practical framework for public policy development. Capra's identification of the Newtonian-Cartesian straitjacket must be supplemented by an identification of the national-security straitjacket.

The "highly imbalanced set of values" which Capra identifies as dominating our culture and as "embodied in our social institutions" are not only the fruits of a mechanistic 17th century scientific worldview. For, as we have seen, the dominant values of our contemporary world, as of most of recorded history, are the masculine values now embedded in the security imperatives that are receiving priority in a world of fragmented territorial sovereignties.

This is not to say that Newtonian physics and Cartesian dichotomies did not contribute to the mechanistic value-frame which Capra deplors. They clearly were important factors. But they also provided a useful framework within which national leaders could pursue the security goals of the new nation-states that were emerging in the 17th century. These security goals expanded, manipulated and institutionalized this mechanistic framework.

In order to replace the present masculine power paradigm, we must do more than develop a more holistic, non-mechanistic worldview. We need also to give attention to the task of developing a transnational security system, one which will permit us to embrace—in public policy as well as in conceptual theory—the essence of the original concept of the earth as sacred which our early ancestors held. Without effective world order structures, such an etologically balanced worldview will remain relega-

ted mainly to decisions of personal lifestyle. As meritorious as such personal lifestyle adjustments would be, in itself this will not offset the massive impact of corporate, institutional power that, directly or indirectly, is energized by present national security priorities.

To call for a transnational security system is not to suggest that we pursue some idealistic, impossible dream. It is, rather, to recognize the natural thrust of history as having come today to a certain threshold. It is to face up to the fallacy of national independence and to identify the global infrastructure that is already largely in place for developing a global public sector.

Barring nuclear disaster or environmental breakdown, the march of human history toward an international public sector is inexorable. As in previous periods of history, territorial sovereignty has once again become a fragile vehicle upon which to base security. As we have seen, national leaders are becoming increasingly powerless to handle the new global technological, monetary and economic forces. These global forces are making a mockery of national borders and devastating human priorities at local and national levels.

There can be no return to the "good old days" of self-sufficiency. The explosive growth of global interdependence during the past decade has outstripped the capacities of national institutions to cope. The result is a *structural gap*, creating a vacuum in which rampant military, economic and monetary forces threaten chaos and systemic breakdown.

The challenge is to overcome that gap with a global public sector that can provide managerial (governance) mechanisms commensurate with the new global realities. These final years of the 20th century are pivotal in this historic effort to negotiate the transition toward a world security system. It is not a question of *whether* there will be a world order system. It is a question, rather, of *what kind* of system it will be and what its underlying values will be.

In an essay entitled "The Third Mediation," Thomas Berry speaks of three historical mediation tasks.⁷ The first mediation is reconciliation between human beings and the Divine. The second mediation task is reconciliation between human beings. The third is the reconciliation between human beings and the earth. These three mediation tasks are not mutually exclusive, but indeed interrelated. Each affects the others, and none will advance significantly in isolation from the other two.

It is because of this inherent interrelationship that I chose not to begin with a cataloguing of the multiple crises of land. Other writers in this *Who's Earth Paper* have identified these crises in some detail. They are crises which cannot be resolved only by increased awareness of problems, greater technical expertise, changes in ideologies or new political leaders. The crises of land can only be resolved if there is an understanding of the distortions of values and priorities which result from the principle of territorial sovereignty and in the security priorities and masculine power paradigm that emanate from that principle.

The three types of brokenness which Berry outlines as requiring mediation and reconciliation cannot be fully understood without an awareness of their linkages to the security imperatives of territoriality. Historically, the security straitjacket has been a powerful factor in the alienation between God and individuals, between groups in the human family, and between the human community and the earth.

A basis of hope in these times is that now, for the first time in the thousands of years since the invention of organized warfare, the human community stands in a position to transcend this structural straitjacket and the masculine power paradigm. Only in our present generation has the infrastructure needed for a world security system—i.e., for a viable international public sector—emerged.

However, a big *IF* for this reconciliation, remains. It is a question of whether there will be a multi-issue movement—global and transcultural in nature—strong enough to read the signs of the times, not as End-times of imminent breakdown, but as a certain Fullness of Time, as a pregnant period of historical transformation. A key to catalyzing a broad based movement is an awareness of the crisis of land, and a recognition of the way in which land has been manipulated, debased and increasingly destroyed by national security policies.

National Security Alliances

Land has always been a central determinant of national power. From earliest times the security of a society depended upon the fertility of its land. As industrial enterprises developed, its security also depended upon the mineral resources found within the land. Wars have been fought over fertile land and over mineral resources in the earth. Sometimes the war was initiated because of greed and desire for additional power; other times it was launched because of grave survival needs. Lacking adequate fertile land to feed a growing population, or lacking adequate mineral resources to sustain economic and military enterprises, tribes and nations periodically invaded borders of neighboring peoples.

To secure their borders against such invasions, political leaders depended increasingly upon finance, economic capacity and capital-intensive technology. It was not surprising, therefore, that they made alliances with "the haves"—i.e., with those who could respond to the security needs of the nation.

This is not to say that every alliance between political leaders and people or institutions with wealth and economic power was forged because of legitimate security needs for a kingdom or nation-state. History documents how greedy and power-hungry people have actively sought the control of political power to preserve and expand their wealth and influence. To admit this, however, does not erase the security-logic of such alliances. Nor does it obscure the fact that the very existence of this logic has consistently given "the haves" an effective tool which they could manipulate to preserve the status quo.

No more effective banner exists under which privileged elites can undercut necessary social or

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economic change than that of "national security." This has been true in the past and remains true today. It is true in capitalist and socialist countries alike. The "haves" can tolerate dissent as long as it remains marginal, but once it begins to become effective—thereby making a more just and equitable order a real possibility—the "haves" historically have been able to mobilize their wealth and influence to convince the general citizenry that such dissent is "subversive" to the nation's security. In capitalist countries, the dissenters are labeled "communists," while in

ideologically rigid socialist countries they are accused of being "capitalists."

As long as the principle of territorial sovereignty remains the central basis for organizing society—even if that principle is now a dangerous, obsolete myth—the logic for national security mobilization, elites and alliances will remain. And as long as the logic remains, it will continue to be effectively manipulated.

The nature of national security alliances changed as tribal groups gave way to agrarian societies and then to the modern industrialized national state. In feudal societies, the security alliances of heads-of-states were made mainly among land owning nobility. The counts, dukes and barons provided the king with knights and, when necessary, infantrymen. They also provided taxes and other financial aid—wrested from the production of their peasants—to support the king's armies and royal court. Indeed, military service and economic support for such service were at the core of the feudal system.

The feudal term "vassal" helps clarify this military relationship. A vassal was a professional fighting man who served someone of higher rank. Vassals were commonly given a special grant of land in return for military service. Called a "benefice," this grant enabled the vassal to meet the expense of providing mounted cavalry services. All landlords were compelled to contribute both service and economic support to the military establishment, in proportion to the size of their land holdings. As a means for assuring such contributions, the holder of a benefice usually was given total jurisdiction over his dependent peasants. The peasants didn't own land, but were tied to it through serfdom. Land thus not only provided the security of an adequate food supply, but also became an instrument of military security.

It is not surprising, therefore, that social and economic justice issues such as land reform were never allowed to surface despite growing peasant dissatisfaction. Besides being a basis for power and wealth for the landed aristocracy, land also provided the central foundation for territorial security. Accordingly, the landed aristocracy became logical partners and allies of the security establishment.

The advent of industrialization expanded this national security alliance. Industrialization brought new elites, those with industrial power, into a partnership that was becoming a national security establishment.

Early capitalist and embryonic industrial economic models were already developing in 12th and 13th century Europe. It was the beginning of what gradually became a widespread movement away from rural toward urban based economics. Hand-in-hand with this urban development came a rise in civic patriotism. Some cities were becoming miniature states, pledged and mobilized to provide political, economic and military security. Areas outside their boundaries, even neighboring towns, were considered to be "foreign" soil.

By the "late Middle Ages"—i.e., the 14th and 15th centuries—urban based capitalism was well on its

way. Geographic areas of trade were expanding rapidly, aided by newly established banking institutions. Organized and operating now as a separate profession, these banking firms expanded the limited financial base that had previously been provided by merchants acting as money-lenders. The broadened circles of trade that resulted served to break down older perceptions of territorial sovereignty.

Whereas in the early Middle Ages trade had been relatively localized between neighboring cities, in this later period it expanded far beyond such local circles. So it was not surprising that, concomitant with these commercial and industrial developments, there was a rise in national consciousness. This national consciousness was reflected in the expansion of trade regulations by the public sector. Regulating this growing commerce required moving from the city-state to the national level. Indeed, national consciousness and patriotism developed because of the inadequacy of local, city-based regulations to deal with the larger circles of economic interdependencies that in turn were exposing the fallacy of the professed territorial sovereignties of the city-states. Consequently, a national public sector emerged to deal not only with national defense but also with national trade policy. The concept of territorial security was expanding. As trade continued to grow, it moved not only beyond city boundaries, but also beyond the territorial borders of the newly formed national societies.

The Myth of National Sovereignty

In order to cope with this international dimension of trade, heads-of-state and their ministers increasingly emphasized the export sector of the economy as a necessary part of national security policy. Threats to the nation's security were now recognized as more than military. An economic interdependency was growing which was recognized as an ongoing threat, requiring increased government involvement in the lives of the nation's citizens. Such were the embryonic beginnings of the global interdependence that, in our own time, has come to pervade all areas of the planet.

There are certain parallels between the emerging national societies of this period and the new "developing" nations which have achieved independence since World War II.

1. In both instances, heads-of-states and their ministers had to struggle with the tensions of reconciling local or tribal identities and loyalties with a new national identity and loyalty.
2. In both instances, the new nations had to deal with the irony that history's march toward global interdependence had already made a myth of the new national sovereignties that their citizens were celebrating.
3. These external forces profoundly affected domestic priorities, human needs fulfillment and the distribution of political and economic power.
4. Land—and those who tilled it—were profoundly affected by new imperatives and mobilization for national security.

The relevance of these parallels for much of Asia, Africa and Latin America is heightened by comparing the similarities and the differences between two phases of Western colonialism. The first phase, begun in the 16th century, has been called the "First Scramble," while the later "Second Scramble" was launched in the 19th century.

The First Scramble: Mercantilism

The first phase of colonialism was largely energized by the strategic goal of nationalistic mercantilism. For many years the strength of a city-state or nation was assumed to be ultimately determined by its reserves of precious metals, reserves acquired by a positive balance of trade and/or by acquiring territory where precious metals could be mined. European traders, led by the Spanish and Portuguese, crossed the oceans to claim new land masses for their sovereigns.

The discovery and exploitation of rich veins of gold and silver in its American colonies made Spain especially rich and powerful. Spain's success provided the model for what became the central, overriding economic doctrine known as mercantilism. Other European countries quickly followed Spain's mercantile colonial pattern. Most national leaders formulated trade policies and laws that were designed to acquire, import and retain precious metals. Government regulation of trade increased, as did its involvement in national economic policy. The central focus was on achieving a *favorable balance of trade*. Under this mercantilist doctrine, governments favored the export sector, and the emphasis on foreign trade deeply affected agriculture.

An early mercantilist theoretician, Antonio Serra, argued that manufacturing was superior to agriculture because it produced goods easily traded and therefore brought in steady money. It is significant that he was a Calabrian, representing the views of Italian city-states which had few mineral resources but many experienced artisans and traders. The title of his publication is revealing: *A Brief Treatise on the Causes Which Can Make Gold and Silver Plentiful in Kingdoms Where there are No Mines*.

Here we see a classical confrontation between agriculture and manufacturing industries, one that profoundly impacts the development models chosen by many third world leaders today.

Serra argued that agriculture was unstable economically because of its dependency upon the weather. In contrast, labor applied in manufacturing trades was "sure to bring a gain." Crops were limited by the amount of land available, whereas manufacturing had no such limits. In addition, agricultural products were bulky and perishable; they could not be profitably stored for the long periods or transported over the great distances required by world trade. But clothing, arms, handicrafts and other manufactured goods "may be exported with every facility to any distant country."

Serra also noted that manufactured goods usually brought greater profit for the entrepreneur—but this personal profit factor was not Serra's main point.

Rather, he emphasized that manufactured goods were more strategically useful instruments of the mercantilist state in achieving its aggregate goal of a positive balance of trade.

Export and National Security

This is an important point. Too often the dynamism and exploitation of Western colonialism has been attributed almost entirely to the greed of the commercial and industrial interests who—having their nation's leaders in their pockets—used gunboat diplomacy to enhance their profits. A corollary of this judgment is that the overriding rationale behind Western economic and military colonialism was capitalist ideology; and that a socialist ideology would have resulted in a radically different history of European relationships with Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In a more accurate analysis, however, we see that the mercantilist doctrine of national security and power viewed the chief goal of the state to be the common good and security of the national society as a whole. The foremost objective of national policy was to provide for this national security through a positive trade balance. That is why an export surplus was the priority of the mercantilist state, a priority that frequently resulted in policies restricting profits of particular commercial enterprises.

The result was a substantial increase in the power of government regulation, undercutting the traditional dominance of agriculture. National economics and other aspects of society were, therefore, mobilized as clearly for "the security of the nation" as were national armies. George Soule spells this out:

If this was to be the chief end of the state, and if the state was rightly all-powerful, the logical inference seemed to be that government should forbid the export of gold and silver and should try to maximize import of bullion by strict regulation of international payments and the individual transactions that brought them about. Thus a foreign trader who sold goods for precious metals to be brought into the country was to be encouraged, but one who merely bartered one commodity for another, or built up his capital abroad, was evading his duty. England forbade the export of specie and tried to control the dealings of traders.⁹

Soule then speaks to the way this national security objective took precedence over the profit motives of individual traders or commercial enterprises, who now became instruments of, and partners in, national security policy: "The British East India Company was chartered by the crown in 1601 to exploit trade with the East Indies—not only as an enterprise for those who put up the capital but as a chosen instrument of national policy."

As an example, in 1613, a ship of the East India Trading Company was lost. Public revelation that it had been illegally carrying out bullion from the

country triggered heated controversy over what was seen as an act subversive to England's security.

Here we see the emergence of the contemporary theory of foreign trade and its relationship to international balance-of-payments goals as a cornerstone of national security policy. This national security imperative propelled the first scramble of colonialism as much as, and perhaps more than, the commercial traders' desire for profits. Thus, rather than gunboat diplomacy being primarily an instrument of private commercial and industrial enterprise, private enterprise became a prime instrument and partner in implementing national public policy. The flag didn't just follow private economic interests in order to protect investments with gunboats. The flag often led the way, encouraging and assisting overseas investment in order to achieve what were seen primarily as national security goals.

Thomas Mun, a British economic analyst of that era, formulated this political-economic principle in a coherent theory. He argued that the chief goal of foreign policy was an export surplus and that the state should play a central role in creating an environment which would facilitate that goal.

The nation here was seen as a *merchant*. Like an individual merchant, a nation must regard other nations as competitors. It must try to take trade away from other nations by any means at its disposal: by monopolistic policies or even by war. With no international public sector to "interfere" in its relationship with other nations, the nation's policies could be pursued in the freedom and lawlessness of absolute *laissez faire*. And just as individual merchants strive to beat down the prices of the goods they purchase, so also the mercantilist state exploited cheap sources of raw materials in its colonies and cheap labor at home. With the nation being the ultimate law domestically, the workers and peasants exploited at home—as well as those overseas—had no recourse. Urban industry was given priority at home. The function of agriculture was perceived as furnishing food as cheaply as possible so that wages could remain low.

The focus on export affected small land holdings in another way. With woolen cloth a much sought

after trade commodity, large domestic land owners sought to shift from the production of food crops to sheep-raising. "Enclosures" emerged in England; land owners, legally or illegally, seized large areas of land which they then converted to sheep farms. The uprooted peasants migrated in great numbers to the urban areas where they constituted the supply of cheap labor and contributed to the already existing considerable human discontent, conflict and crime.

Exploitation and Colonialism

Thus both the urban laborers and agricultural workers were exploited for national security goals, goals now defined much more broadly than the military goals of feudal times. The dignity of the feudal artisans and the rootedness-of-the-earth of the feudal peasants (even if they were often indentured) gave way to a dehumanizing rootlessness and insecurity as the general citizenry increasingly became instruments of production for mercantilist national security objectives.

Large families were encouraged, thereby expanding the domestic labor supply. Unemployment was not seen as a problem, but as an economic opportunity: population pressure resulted in lower wages and permitted employers to demand long working hours. Women and children were especially exploited in British coal mines. Elizabethan poor laws were harshly enforced. Idleness was regarded as a crime—a crime against the state.

It is important here to apply the national security factor in any analysis of the capitalist system. Too often critics of capitalism attribute the dehumanizing exploitation of urban and rural workers to the internal dynamics of capitalism *alone*. Some critics link the exploitation described above *only* with the profit motive of private enterprise. Such analysis misses the role that territorial sovereignty and national security goals also have played historically in such exploitation. A more comprehensive analysis demonstrates that this exploitation *transcends ideological differences* between capitalism and socialism.

It was the mercantilist state (rather than merely commercial interests) that energized, financed and



masterminded much of Western colonialism. The mercantilist state provided the rationale and political structures that encouraged land owners and commercial enterprises to exploit both the peasants and laborers for aggregate national goals. These same land owners and entrepreneurs, of course, were only too willing to take advantage of and manipulate the rationale and structures involved.

Obviously, governments and private enterprise used each other. The national security alliances that formed among government, military, agricultural and commercial/ industrial leaders were alliances of mutual interest. Each manipulated the other, and together they manipulated the citizens whose interest, in theory, it was the state's duty to protect.

Adam Smith Revisited

It is ironic that many critics of capitalism identify its injustices with Adam Smith. Although Smith is often called the real founder of classical economics (that is, of what has come to be known as laissez faire industrial capitalism), he was a radical opponent of monopolies and an inveterate critic of mercantilist doctrine and state policy. An advocate of free trade, Smith argued that the mercantilist state's national security focus on the export market sacrificed the interest of the consumer to that of the producer. Rather than being an enemy of consumer interests, he could be expected, were he living today, to be a leading spokesperson of the consumer's rights movement.

Smith argued that if competition, freedom of trade and specialization were desirable as beneficial to the consumer *within* a nation, they must be equally desirable in economic activity *between* nations. He thus argued strongly against tariffs and subsidies. He condemned monopolies affecting trade between nations, saying these were just as undesirable as monopolies on the domestic scene.

Far from having an ideological position that restricted the role of government to that of domestic police force and national defense, Smith outlined a creative role for a public sector that could foster the common good. He advocated government expenditures for public works; government subsidies for schools for the common people; and an *income tax* that would be levied on people "in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state." He also advocated government regulations to prevent monopolies.

Smith criticized the sending of military forces overseas to protect the operations of the British East India Company. He also criticized the exploitation of what he perceived as imperialistic colonialism.

Having argued the need for a national public sector with regulatory authority, Adam Smith, were he alive today in the 1980's, would probably be in the vanguard of the movement for a *global* public sector to protect the common good of the total human community. In the 18th century, of course, no global public sector was possible. Although Hugo Grotius

and other philosophers had previously written about the need for effective international law and effective international public authority to enforce such law, the infrastructure for such institutions was still two centuries in the future. So, in Smith's practical view, a global public sector was not a possibility in the proximate future.

Like the Manchester School advocates of international free trade a century later, Adam Smith had visions of an international economic community which would benefit *all* people of the earth. George Soule speaks to Smith's idealism and concern for the common consumer:

...in spite of Smith's penetrating observations of actual economic institutions, he was in reality a propagandist for a future liberal utopia—one which, he hoped, was just coming into sight when he wrote. Though some of his maxims were subsequently observed in practice, they were never completely applied anywhere, and the world today is further than ever from adopting his doctrine as a whole.¹⁰

His doctrine was never adopted as a whole partly because economics is not an exact science. Rather, it is an evolving body of theory and principles. Economic "doctrine" is determined by what interest groups have the most power at any given time in history. More relevant to our examination of the effect on land of the national-security straitjacket is the intervention of the National Security State. In the absence of an international public sector, the free international trade that Smith and the Manchester School advocated—and the global common good that they desired—would have undermined the very national security policies that national leaders have historically perceived as vital to the survival of the state.

Smith's international perspective and concern for the common good of the total human community has been largely ignored by capitalist ideologues who have chosen to apply only those parts of his economic theory that serve their ends. In a similar way national policy makers of so-called capitalist nations divide the world according to ideological "morality," mouthing "free enterprise" as the slogan under which they are willing to destroy whole countries—and, with nuclear weapons, the entire human community. At the same time they make a mockery of Smith's general commitment to free enterprise by advocating massive governmental intervention in their hallowed market in the form of direct and indirect investment in national security related industries. The result of such double think is capitalism for the poor, but socialism for the partners of the national security alliance.

Conversely lies the parallel irony of socialist ideologues who mouth only those parts of Karl Marx's theory that fit their personal and national security goals while rejecting the humanistic liberation goals of personal self-determination and political participation that were also part of Marx's vision.

A key to catalyzing a broad based movement is an awareness of the crisis of land, and a recognition of the way in which land has been manipulated, debased and increasingly destroyed by national security policies.



Which Models of Development?

The reality in an interdependent but lawless world of sovereign states is that person-centered, humanistic and social justice objectives are seen as subversive to national security policy. This was not only the experience of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, but also the experience of many others.

Gandhi's commitment to a rural based, agricultural economy is a case in point. Why was Nehru chosen to be India's prime minister instead of Gandhi? After all, even Nehru claimed to be a disciple of Gandhi who, admittedly, was embraced as the father of India's independence. Or to state the question more accurately, why did India's new government embrace Nehru's urban based, capital-intensive, labor-saving industrial development model rather than Gandhi's village based, agricultural, capital-saving and labor-intensive model of development?

Similarly, why did the Soviet Union under Stalin give preference to urban based, capital-intensive development while exploiting the peasants and disrupting the Russian agricultural structure? Was it not in order to get the aggregate savings for the financing of this industrial development model? He judged this to be a prerequisite for national survival in a lawless world where hostile nations were boycotting the Soviet Union and seeking its demise.

And why have so many African, Asian and Latin American countries during the past several "development decades" neglected agriculture in favor of capital-intensive, industrial projects that have resulted in massive migrations to urban areas, high unemployment, inflation and food shortages? And, why, now that widespread re-evaluation has shown the multiple consequences of this tragic neglect of agriculture, do so many of these countries continue to rely on export oriented agriculture? Indeed they are even increasing such exports while their own people suffer widespread malnutrition.

No simple answer can be given to these questions, for the factors that have influenced decisions and policies are multiple. A partial listing would include the following:

1. Impact of Western civilization which presented urban development models as culturally superior to rural based society.
2. Impact of Western investment into projects that replicated capital-intensive development models, especially through global networks of multinational corporations.
3. Impact of center-periphery alliances of local elites. There included individuals educated in the West and who served as bridges for international investment and development patterns and military forces who preserved the status quo.

I suggest, however, that there is an additional and central factor that, directly and indirectly, affects the above reasons. It is government interventions on behalf of national security goals, goals that subordinate the good of the individual citizen to the aggregate objectives of military, monetary and resource security. The citizen's needs as a consumer, as a unique sovereign person with a right to full human development, as a member of the human species and as an organic part of the earth's ecological community, are put aside when they conflict with territorial security goals. These national security priorities transcend ideology. The powerlessness of national leaders to liberate themselves from the strait-jacket of these priorities will persist as long as national people continue to pay homage to the fiction of territorial sovereignty and of territorial security.

Industrialization and National Insecurity

Before we share some reflections on what form the international public sector needs to take so that the security straitjacket can be loosened, let us complete our historical analysis by examining the insecurity of "sovereign" nation-states in the light of the insecurity of the economic model ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.

England had pioneered the move away from the mercantilist state when it explicitly embraced the industrial mode. This changeover, usually known as the Industrial Revolution, is sometimes dated as

taking place mainly between 1830 and 1870. The industrialization forces, however, were already substantially in place by the mid 1700's. Technological breakthroughs in the cotton and metal industries and the rapid expansion of domestic transportation systems had set the scene.

Concomitant with these domestic developments was England's emergence as the dominant naval power of the world, a preeminence that largely enabled England to become the "workshop of the world." Controlling the oceans with its expanded fleet, England concentrated on securing large holdings of land from which its trading companies brought vast quantities of cheap food, tropical goods and raw materials.

The Industrial Revolution can be seen as a radical political "event." This is not only because of its move from an agricultural and commercial model to one that gave priority to mechanized industry. A more important reason was its conscious abandonment of a central dimension of territorial sovereignty—i.e., an abandonment of the concept of *self-sufficiency* that historically had guided national security policy.

Classical national security doctrine had been based on three complementary principles: *self-sufficiency*, *territoriality* and *impenetrability*. The security of a sovereign state rested on all three; take away any one and the others could not provide security by themselves.

Prior to the gradual growth of economic interdependence in the 15th century, self-reliance was accepted as a given. The security focus, therefore, was mainly on the later two principles, i.e., territoriality and impenetrability. National resources, institutions and citizenry were mobilized to achieve and maintain the impenetrability of territorial borders. Other objectives were subordinated to this primary and overall goal.

The sequence of the three principles in those pre-interdependence days was clear. Tribes, city-states, or feudal kingdoms were essentially simple and self-sufficient. Trade with other territorial sovereignties was largely peripheral, usually involving *non-essential* goods. As long as fortress walls were high and strong enough, armies large enough, and weapons powerful enough, a society was secure.

But once trade expanded to include *essential* goods—i.e., those manufactured goods and raw materials upon which widescale employment and the fulfillment of basic human needs depended—then a nation's security could be undermined even if it had the military and economic strength to repel enemy military forces, for its borders still could be penetrated by external *economic* forces. Economic dependence made a nation vulnerable.

As we have seen, this erosion of territorial sovereignty by dependency on foreign sources for essential goods had already begun prior to the Industrial Revolution. It was a gradual development. No precise date can be given as the time of clear transition. The expansion of trade to include essential goods was not a result of a conscious national decision. It was, rather, an evolutionary process out of which

emerged a new economic model that eventually was recognized, affirmed and articulated as formal economic doctrine.

As England led the way, basing its economy—and therefore its security—on the model subsequently described as the Industrial Revolution, she gradually abandoned the principle of self-sufficiency. The country entered the era of *dependency*. Her increasingly industrialized economy now required massive imports of mineral and other raw materials from the African, Asian and American colonies that she had seized during the first colonial scramble. Moreover, her economy also depended upon foreign markets for the sale of her manufactured goods.

England's dependency, therefore, was two-fold. Her security depended upon uninterrupted imports and exports. Despite whatever powerful weapons and massive armies and navies might be mobilized for protection of territorial borders from *military* invasions, England's borders were now being penetrated by this two-way dependency. It meant that the import and export sectors were as important as her military forces. Yet, without military forces to assure sources of imports and markets for exports, England's security could be undermined by economic collapse even without invasion by foreign military forces.

The Rise of the National-Security-State

The stage, therefore, was set for the rise of the National Security State. Security was now no longer based only upon powerful military machines and industrial alliances needed to defend territory. It was also based upon imports and exports. National trade and colonial institutions were thus becoming core partners in the national security establishment.

Territorial sovereignty was becoming a fiction. In practice, England was no longer a sovereign territory. Her security and destiny were no longer based on self-sufficiency, but upon materials and resources sought outside her national boundaries.

It is here that the genius—exploitative though it was—of the concept of the British Commonwealth is seen. It was a way of coping with the new insecurity and dependency. England became "Great Britain," a global nation in which all citizens of commonwealth countries had protection as British subjects and the right to immigrate to the home territory of England. As the British Commonwealth grew, its growing industrial and military power threatened the security of its European rivals.

In response to this threat, other European nations also embraced the industrial model. In doing so, they also formally abandoned the principle of self-sufficiency and therefore acknowledged that, through economic dependency, their borders were now penetrable. For some, like France, the transition was relatively rapid. For others, it was more gradual. Whatever the timetable, the effects were the same. Each became more dependent and less self-reliant.

This economic dependence, of course, went two ways. Not only were England, France and other European countries dependent upon overseas colonies for resources and markets, but the African, Asian

Seeing land as a central instrument of security policy, the National Security State obstructs land reform efforts and undermines initiatives designed to protect and conserve the earth's environment upon which human security ultimately depends.

and American colonies were being forced to adopt development models that were often almost entirely based upon decisions and policies made in the "Mother Country." Although both sides of the colonial relationship were dependent—and the territories of both sides were no longer sovereign—the dependency was not mutual. Rather, it was exploitative.

The Second Scramble

The competition to establish a wider territorial basis for security gave momentum to the "Second Scramble" of the Western Colonialism in the 19th century. So institutionalized was the the security-oriented development model that, when *political* independence finally was achieved by former colonies in the post-World War II era, there was a hollow ring to the exuberant proclamations of "independence," "self-determination" and "self-reliance." And it is this security-oriented development model that today defines land and its agricultural and mineral riches, as a central instrument of national security policy rather than a sacred trust that nourishes all life on earth.

Significant *similarities* exist between the First and Second colonial scrambles. Among them are these factors:

1. Both were energized by economic perceptions of national security as well as by nationalistic chauvinism and the greed of private commercial interests;
2. Both were economically and culturally imperialistic and exploitative;
3. Both affected the use and ownership of land in colonial and colonized countries.

Significant *differences* exist as well:

1. Whereas the mercantilist policy of the First Scramble gave priority to trade surpluses, the new industrial policy of the Second Scramble emphasized the acquisition of raw materials and foreign markets as goals having strategic value *irrespective* of how they affected trade balances.
2. Yet, ironically, the trade relationship so benefited the industrialized countries, that despite their abandonment of mercantilist balance-of-payments goals, these same powers usually achieved substantial trade surpluses. It was, however, at the cost of substantial deficits for the agriculturally based colonies.
3. Although lawless inter-state competition provided a national security logic for both Scrambles, the security rationale of the Second Scramble was more fundamental because it affected the *core* of the

industrial development society's economy for which world trade was no longer a luxury or a peripheral dimension.

Interpreting Napoleon

France's response to the threat from England's growing industrial power took the form of the first modern National Security State. It was a response also shaped by a new frenzied *nationalism* energized by the clarion call of the French Revolution. Waving the twofold banner of national security and national sovereignty, Napoleon's France launched a national militarism based upon history's first compulsory conscription. Under the revolutionary principle of "the nation in arms," Napoleon's armies became the scourge of Europe.

But Napoleon did more than conscript able bodied men for soldiers; he mobilized the total population. The government decreed that

...the young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing, and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the aged shall take themselves to the public places in order to rouse the courage of the warriors and preach...the unity of the Republic.¹¹

Napoleon also mobilized the press, the educational system and the entire French economy for national security. The power of Napoleon's France was greatly strengthened by the new industrial technologies with which he aspired to challenge both the military and economic power of England.

The costs of this militaristic nationalism were high. As Carlton Hayes points out,

The military successes of the republic were achieved at a terrible cost. They aroused an intolerant, militaristic spirit among large numbers of Frenchmen. They made the national army the chief concern and pride...Public policies were more and more subordinated in the maintenance of soldiers and assurance of military triumph. For the maintenance of the army, more and more peasants were taken from the fields and shops; and for its financial support, oppressive burdens were laid upon French commerce and industry while plunderings and indemnities were ruthlessly inflicted on conquered lands.¹²

Unless the straitjacket of national security is clearly identified, efforts to turn back the assault on the land can have only limited gains.



The new nationalistic militarism was also used to stamp out domestic reaction by peasants and other groups that opposed the government's policies of national mobilization.

Thus it was that 19th century Europe was confronted by the double power of the Industrial Revolution: the *economic* imperialism evidenced first by the British Empire; and the *military* imperialism as expressed first in Napoleonic France. Together, these two forces compelled the rest of Europe to mobilize their societies for economic and military power and expansionism. Bismarck's Prussian regime was only the more militant of the other national security state models that emerged in the late 19th century. In these ways foundations were thus laid for the national security states of the 20th century.

Paralleling this escalatory development of the National Security State model throughout the 19th century was a similar escalation of global economic interdependence. The erosion of territorial sovereignty continued as the impenetrability of national borders became ever more fragile, as did the security of nations having to compete in the growing interdependent, but still lawless, world scene.

Nations continued to worship, however, before the illusory shrine of territorial sovereignty. Not only did a rising tide of nationalistic fever inundate all areas of the world; so, too, did the model of national security mobilization.

Escalating the Assault on Land

The inter-connectedness of the world's nations is evidenced by the global nature of World War I. In that upheaval, the urban-based, capital-intensive, labor-saving industrial model and the nationalistic power of central government organized for security and national glory combined to become a cataclysmic force that shattered the values, cultures, institutions and peoples of rural, agricultural societies.

This assault on rural societies and on the land itself continues in today's post-World War II world at an ever more rapid pace. Although the form of this assault varies according to diverse ideologies and

stages of industrial development, the reality of land as a central tool of national security policy is universal. The fact of this assault is not disputed. It has been and continues to be widely documented. What is disputed is the interpretation of its causes.

One common interpretation is that the assault on land has been a natural consequence of the economic forces of history. According to this view, mechanized technology, capital accumulation and consumer preferences for ever more sophisticated industrial products are expressions of inexorable natural dynamics of the economic process, dynamics which overpower rural, land-based values and culture. Once people have tasted the fruits and marvels of modern industrial society, they are reluctant to "go back to the farm." And if they stay on the farm, it is no longer the small 150 acre plot. Rather, they pursue the "benefits" of large scale agribusiness and its "breakthroughs" requiring pesticides and chemical fertilizers.

There are, of course, dissenting interpretations which deny that this urban-based, capital-intensive, labor-saving industrial model is the inevitable result of the national economic laws of history. Some dissenters attribute the assault on land to "Western Colonialism." The problem here is identified as a model born of Western culture—a culture based on an Aristotelian "scientific" worldview codified by Newton, Bacon, Kant and other Western scientists and philosophers. Feminists place the blame on the male psyche which, seeking "power over," dominates human beings and nature. And when admitting that there is a crisis in land, Marxists tend to blame capitalist economics.

The question is complex. Multi-faceted, it has no simple or single answer. Other articles in this "Land and World Order" issue of the *Whole Earth Papers* present some important aspects of this complexity.

What I have tried to do in this article is to present one of the central factors that—directly and indirectly—underlies, sustains and now escalates the assault on land, i.e., the straitjacket of national security mobilization and priorities. Unless it is clearly identified, efforts to turn back this assault can have

only limited gains.

I recall conversations on development with associates in Africa, Asia and Latin America who are collaborating in efforts to promote world order alternatives. One common conclusion they often presented in the first stages of dialogue on global interdependence was that their respective countries needed to reject the "Western" model of development. What was needed was a Philippine model of development, or an Indian or African model, or a Latin American model.

Their concern was to formulate an *indigenous* model, one which would respect local values, culture and economic infrastructure, all of which usually had strong rural foundations deeply rooted in the land. E.F. Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful" ideal of human-scaled, self-reliant social and economic development units was frequently held up as the path to follow in realizing such an indigenous pattern.

In these indigenous "preferred futures" much emphasis was on the need to move away from an export oriented economy that takes agricultural products out of the country. In their book, *Food First*, Lappe and Collins argue that, with few exceptions, the nations of the world can become self-sufficient in food. Their analysis is that what is needed and lacking is the *political will* to stop exporting food and other agricultural produce and concentrate, instead, on growing food for the local consumption of one's citizens.

Three Case Studies

I believe the problem goes deeper: it is structural. Lacking a world security system—i.e., a global public authority with competent and sufficiently powerful functional body at the international level to provide a framework for security against threats from military, balance-of-payments and scarce resource competition — many national leaders feel compelled to use agricultural products as prime export commodities. The export sector has become the prime national security sector for most countries of the world. Three examples illustrate the diversity, yet commonality, of this export security straitjacket.

Kenya

Malnutrition is growing in Kenya. Until several years ago, Kenya had one of the better records in terms of limited military expenditures and limited military influence in national life. However, claims of Somalia and Idi Amin's Uganda to very large areas of Kenya's territories prompted Nairobi to purchase modern jet planes and other hardware at an expenditure of over 70 million dollars. Combined with the rising cost of imports of oil and manufactured goods, Kenya's balance-of-payments deficits soared.

As these monetary deficits grew, Kenya's economic and social mobility was severely threatened. Her currency was under attack, threatening her ability to compete in the present world trade system.

What options did Kenya's leaders have? The problem could not be solved only by a strong political

will to limit exports. The military threats that prompted the weapons imports were not imaginary, but real, as was the need for oil imports. The trade deficits underlying the balance-of-payments crises were not results of luxury imports by Kenyan elites only. Lacking an international public sector with the authority and means to help Kenya deal with these deficits, its security would have been as surely threatened by the political will to restrict exports as by military invasions from foreign troops.

The only option facing Kenyan leaders was to continue expanding food exports. Kenya's agricultural production was essential to this national security objective. Indeed, the large tea and coffee plantations—no longer just in the hands of white expatriates—have long been an essential part of Kenya's national security establishment. Tea and coffee have been strategic means of securing vital foreign currency through export markets. The large plantations are well equipped to produce for export, having the aggregate financial, technological and administrative capacity needed to compete efficiently and competitively in the international market. Thus, large sections of prime land are devoted to tea and coffee rather than to the staple food crops needed by Kenya's many hungry citizens.

One factor in the problem of hunger is the dynamics of a capitalist market economy. So it is that the *Global 2000 Report to the President* and the Brandt Commission give such high priority to land reform. Land reform is making only limited progress around the world, however, because of this national security imperative for mobilizing national economies for export. And, because large agribusiness enterprises have a unique capacity for export production, they are usually exempted from land reform schemes *even when governments are sympathetic to land reform objectives*. Reform plans that would substantially dismantle large plantations in favor of production for domestic consumption can be dismissed as subversive to the security of the state. Also judged subversive are proposals to outlaw chemical fertilizers and pesticides, even if they are known to be poisonous to consumers and destructive of soil nutrients.

A dramatic escalation in this export-oriented agricultural policy took place in Kenya in early 1982. Balance-of-payments pressures had been rising due to lower world prices for agricultural exports, higher interest rates and rising costs of securing and repaying growing foreign debt obligations. In order to cope with growing balance-of-payments deficits, Kenyan officials announced a subsidy to those farmers who would switch from producing corn—desperately needed by Kenyan citizens, many of whom were starving in northern Kenya—to the production of cotton. The latter crop was a strategic source of precious foreign currency.

The dilemma is real. It is not only a political dilemma. It is also profoundly moral. It recalls Schlesinger's comment that "saints can be pure, but statesmen, alas, must be responsible."

Nicaragua

Here we have an experiment that directly challenged what was seen as injustice and exploitation in capitalism. The Sandinista leadership envisioned a revolutionary society that would incorporate E.F. Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful," human-scaled model of development. Theirs was a vision of a participatory society that would be self-sufficient in agricultural production through community-based enterprises.

However, the real world in which this person-centered, social justice model had to be achieved does not conform to theoretical liberation theory. It is an interdependent world—a lawless global arena in which the name of the game is national power, and in which the value frame is the masculine power paradigm.

Lacking a world security system that could provide a global institutional and legal framework in which nations could achieve security from military, resource and monetary threats, the Sandinistas are caught in the straitjacket of having to mobilize their society not for their preferred model but, rather, for the goals of the national security state system that has come to dominate the whole planet:

1. Military Mobilization

Threatened by hostile regimes in neighboring Honduras and Guatemala, and by former followers of Somoza trained and equipped in the United States, Sandinista leaders have little choice but to mobilize and equip their people for an expanded army and militia. The costs are not only high financially; they are also high physically and culturally as Nicaraguan educational and cultural institutions are mobilized in an atmosphere of emotional militarism and patriotism.

2. Mobilization for Scarce Resources

The high priced, imported oil is required not only for the basic economic objectives of the revolution, but also for the tanks and airplanes imported for the military. Attention is therefore given to the search for and production of domestic energy resources, requiring capital-intensive technology and production facilities.

3. Mobilization for Balance-of-Payments

Somosa fled Nicaragua with most of its foreign reserves, and left hundreds of millions in foreign debts. This devastating monetary crisis has been further exacerbated by the need for oil, sophisticated weaponry and other manufactured goods in Nicaragua. Precious foreign exchange is needed to pay for such imports. Again, it is the export sector that becomes a strategic national security factor. Thus, the Sandinista leaders have had to cut back on much of their planning for village-based agriculture and participatory, small scale economic units. Also greatly affected are their plans for greater self-sufficiency and self-determination. Rather than breaking out of the colonial pattern of agricultural export dependency, Nicaragua finds itself still bound by the traditional

chains.

An example of this dependency was related by one of our GEA associates who recently returned from Nicaragua. He reported seeing large billboards saying, "the true Revolutionary does not waste sugar." Sugar had become a prime instrument of national security policy, as did the land that produced it.

Thus, we see again that the national security straitjacket transcends ideology. The human agenda is substantially curtailed. Elite decision-making in national policy remains. Educational systems are mobilized for training men and women to participate in the Nicaraguan National Security State with its three National Security Priorities. Masculine values remain dominant as the basis for the public policy of the nation.

The United States

In 1974, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz said that the food reserves of the United States were a powerful weapon in the nation's diplomatic arsenal. His "food is power" formulation came in the Fall of 1974 as the world's attention was on the U.N. Food Conference in Rome. The context of Butz's remarks was clear enough. A year earlier, in 1973, the OPEC nations had unleashed their diplomatic weapon—oil. The parallel is real. Thanks to the bountiful fields of the Midwest and technology, the United States possesses a larger percentage of the world's exportable grains than the OPEC countries possess of the world's exportable oil.

The export of food, especially of grain, ranks as the number one source of the foreign reserves that the United States uses to offset its balance-of-payments deficits. In defending these grain exports, Butz wrote: "Agricultural exports, which have become this nation's major source of foreign exchange . . . strengthened the dollar at a time when it desperately needed it."¹³

The 1981 agricultural trade surplus of roughly \$27 billion offset almost half of the United States' petroleum trade deficit. Agribusiness is given priority by direct and indirect government subsidies. The parallel with Kenya's tea and coffee plantations is clear. In both instances, agribusiness enterprises are central partners in the national security establishment.

The Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture and the U.S. Department of Agriculture share similarities. A priority concern of both is to make food and land more effective instruments of national security policy. The costs of achieving that priority are high: the demise of the family farm; burn out of arable land by intensive export crop production; poisoning of soil and food by massive use of insecticides.

It is not only the Department of Agriculture that pursues national security policies affecting the land; so also do other departments of the government. The Department of Interior, with Secretary James Watts as representative of President Reagan's national security policy, continues to press for the release of presently

protected federal reserve land both for mining and for exploration for oil and other strategic minerals. Offshore oil drilling under the same national security rationale endangers the ecological balance of land and sea alike.

The Energy Department, linking nuclear energy with national security, permits the release of irresponsible levels of radiation and sanctions waste disposal policies that poison land and contaminate the food chain. The government also balks at restricting strip mining policies that would protect and replace valuable top soil needed for ecological balance. Similarly, little is done to control emission from coal burning plants, releasing cancer-producing pollutants that are carried by wind patterns and fall in acid rain on soil and vegetation in Canada.

The Department of Transportation also contributes to the despoilation of the land. Relaxation of auto exhaust emission standards—rationalized as necessary for the nation's security in face of foreign auto competition from Japan—results in contaminated soil and food products.

Conclusion

As we stressed in the beginning, land has always been closely related to the quest for group security. The relationship between land and security was originally relatively benign. But in today's interdependent but lawless world, this relationship threatens to destroy the land itself.

Seeing land as a central instrument of security policy, the National Security State obstructs land reform efforts and undermines initiatives designed to protect and conserve the earth's environment upon which human security ultimately depends.

The task of loosening the national security strait-jacket, therefore, must become a priority agenda item for all who are concerned about the crisis of land. This involves perceptual change and systemic change.

First, we must expand our worldview. Nations today must learn a primary allegiance to the large life system. Thomas Berry says that "it will do little good for any nation to seek its own well being by destroying the very conditions for planetary survival. This larger vision is no longer utopian. It directly concerns the hardest, most absolute reality there is: the reality of the water we drink, the air we breathe, the food we eat."¹⁴

From the perspective of land and the earth environment, there always was a world order. It is only we who have lost sight of the fact and of our interdependency upon the well-being of the land. Our astronauts attest to this oneness of the earth. The images of the earth they have given us from the darkness of space bring us to a new humility. We are not over the earth, rather we are part of it.

These images force us to ask once more the ancient question: *Who owns the earth?* And it makes us listen again to the answer of our earliest ancestors: *The earth belongs to more powerful, sacred forces that guide its lifegiving capacities.* Humans must learn to live in harmony with these natural earth processes. We must

The images of the earth from the darkness of space bring us to a new humility. We are not over the earth, rather we are part of it.

see our place in the mystery of life. We are part of an interdependent earth community, subject to the more powerful forces of nature. We will live or die as the earth lives or dies.

A second task is to re-define and develop new approaches and systems for achieving security. Personal and national security is inseparable from world security. The earth is our fundamental security system. What is lacking is an *international public sector* with the competence, means and authority to manage the multiple global crises which threaten the security not only of individuals and nations, but also of the human species itself.

We need a global structural framework for achieving security from military threats and from monetary and economic collapse. We could then loosen the straitjacket of national security mobilization which historically has been a powerful force in land abuse and in subverting land policies, thus undermining the foundations for true security.

Such a framework would transcend ideology. It should be a problem-solving framework in which *functional* agencies are established and given adequate means and the authority of effective law to manage those problems which are beyond the capacity of individual nation-states.

The *principle of subsidiarity* should be a basic principle in developing a world legal framework and authority lines for the management of these global problems. Subsidiarity begins with the proposition that decision-making should be made at the lowest possible level. Only when problems cannot be managed at the local, municipal, provincial or national levels are effective juridical institutions necessary at the global level. An international public sector based upon functional agencies and established to work according to the principle of subsidiarity is not a quantum jump into the unknown. It is, rather, the next logical step in social development.

An international public sector does not mean an end to nation-states. (In a real sense, an effective world security system would mean greater *true* sovereignty as nations would regain power to place human needs at the top of their agendas.) What it does mean is that, in specific mutually agreed-upon areas where nations acting alone are not able to achieve security and manage problems that are global in scope, some limited but real authority would be invested in functional global institutions for their management.

To advocate an international public sector is not to advocate a global system for the administration of world-wide land reform. The global bureaucracy needed for such a task would be impractical and counter-productive. Rather than moving toward greater centralization, a world security system should provide a framework for greater decentralization, as national security goals would no longer require the centralized control and aggregate economic power required by present security systems based on the obsolete principle of territorial sovereignty.

A world security system would permit the human community to replace or substantially adapt the present capital-intensive, labor-saving development model which depends on massive investment and multi-national outreach. The central role of agribusiness could be eliminated. Land reform based upon the family farm and local cooperatives could be embraced by governments as preferred models.

Finally, national leaders could begin to give priority to the urgent survival issues being raised by the Brandt Commission, the *Global 2000 Report to the President* and many other authoritative studies. In our present system, leaders have little time and energy to do much but deal with multiple short ranged national security crises which overwhelm them with immediate urgency. Indeed, it is surprising that more heads-of-state don't break down under the pressures of an impossible task. They have little time left to deal adequately with the many complexities and moral issues of a rapidly changing future-shock world that has burst forth as a global reality. Noticing the absurdity of this powerlessness of national leaders

caught in the security straitjacket, observers from outer space would surely judge the human species to be irrational.

Fortunately, there is a growing consciousness that we live in a period of historic transformation. Although still in early stages of development, much of the infrastructure for a world security system already exists. Examples are the specialized agencies of the United Nations systems. The U.N. Environmental Program, the World Food Council, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the Law of the Sea, the U.N. Development Program, the International Monetary Fund and the U.N. Centre for Disarmament all have direct or indirect relation to the land issue.

Each of these agencies, however, is severely restricted by the obsolete principle of territorial sovereignty. The development model by which their goals and policies are determined continues to be predominately a national security model.

While it is necessary to note present shortcomings, we must also look to the future. To expect that the United Nations could have been born in 1945 as a fully evolved system is unrealistic. Nearly forty years later, we see the U.N. struggling through the growing pains of adolescence. We can help it become a more mature, adult structure for the needs of our times. The task before all of us who care about life, about the land that nourishes it, and about justice and full human potential, is to grasp the pregnancy of this historic period of transition. We must be *people of the breakthrough* committing our time, monies and energy to the consciousness-raising and political tasks of creating a new more human world order. □

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THE GARDEN TODAY

BY BETTY WOLCOTT

*The "garden scene" has changed
many times, and
today God walks in a very
different kind of garden.
Few even realize that God
walks there at all
or even that God has a right
to be there.
Even God has not been exempt
from controllers and manipulators.
Can transcendence be domesticated,
locked up in churches
and temples
to be distributed
and entertained at will?*

*If hands dare to give
almighty God's blessing
has God any liberty
to refuse
the unworthy,
the sinful?
Does God bless war weapons,
instruments of death
and confiscators of resources?*

*Perhaps, if God's blessings
were not so readily "served up"
we might ponder
whether what we do
merits a blessing —
we might seek it
more sincerely.
God is quite capable
of dispensing God's own blessings!*

*As in the beginning
God's spirit broods
over the earth,
but a very different one:
toxic land dumps,
strip-mining sites,
uranium excavations,
a crippled Three-Mile Island,
Love Canal,
cash-cropping, mono-culturing,
"diminished" soil,
polluted waterways,
nuclear power plants,
the Pentagon,
"square tomato" fields,
chicken and hog factories,
farm workers with short-handled hoes,
huts of starving families,
and struggling masses
yearning for land in order to live.*

BETTY WOLCOTT is a Sister of St. Francis of Assisi. She directs the Office of Justice and Peace in Milwaukee. She worked extensively on the project of the heartland bishops that culminated in the statement *Strangers and Guests*.



A far happier Spirit hovers over
alternative communities where
organic farming,
solar energy,
simple, appropriate living,
natural gardening,
local marketing,
community cooperatives,
and decentralization
are valued and practiced.
People tilling the soil —
if only in flower pots —
composting,
mulching,
enriching,
proud to assist the
creative process,
knowing the world will be
a better place
if their only accomplishment
is leaving behind a
rich, healthy garden plot
where others can grow food.

God still invites
people
to enter the covenant —
to dare to go beyond
keeping commandments and
to relinquish land, property, goods
they really do not need.

"If we have more than we need
we are robbing the poor...."
"If you see your sisters and
brothers in need..."

At no time in history
is the land
so threatened
by our greed,
and at no time have so many
been without resources.
We stand at the brink of war,
because we think
we cannot share the earth.

In the last analysis,
it is the garden
we are fighting over.
But while we are fighting
over "the garden,"
the reason why we are fighting
is the key.
It appears we believe
happiness is found in acquisition,
in having, in controlling.

A disease
enslaves us —
spreading from individuals
to families
to institutions,
corporations,
nations,
cartels.

Like small children,
we clutch our
security blankets:
belongings,
bank books,
bombs.

Gone is the open hand
and open heart;
gone the vulnerability
of trusting.

Double and triple-locked
within our secured
fortresses,
surrounded by our
guard dogs
and guns,
we regard anxiously
any encroachment
of our privacy —
of our private property.
We invest wisely
in companies who can
guarantee returns
for us
no matter at whose cost:

bananas,
sugar,
coffee,
beef,
pineapple,
oil,
toys,
soup,
hash-browns and
catsup —

These often provided
at the expense
of the dignity
and subsistence
of the poor
and at the misuse
of the land and resources.

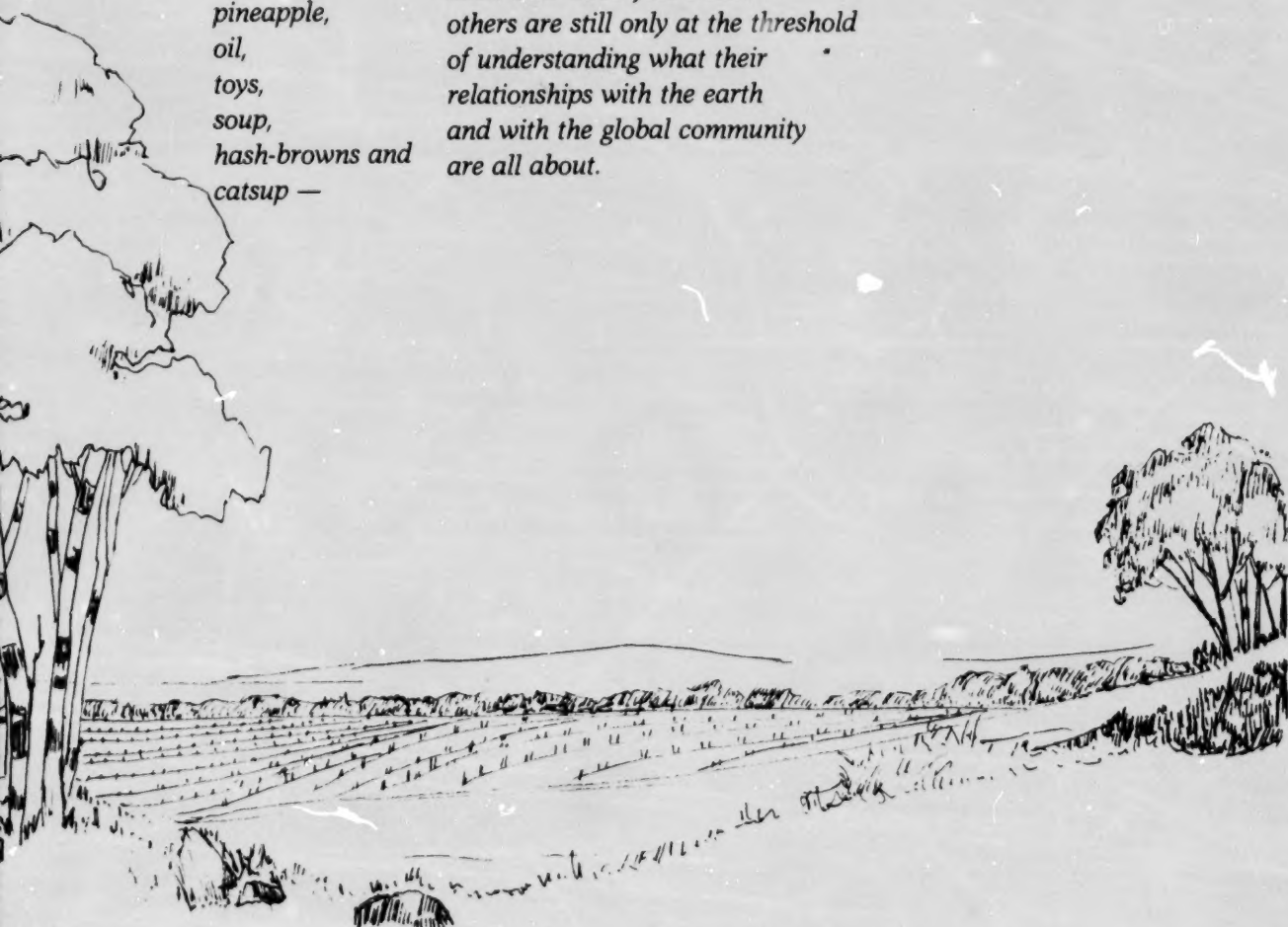
And all the while
we sleep uneasy
as individuals,
as families,
as nations.

Israel struggled
with the deeper implications
of living with the land.
It is not surprising
since over 3000 years later
others are still only at the threshold
of understanding what their
relationships with the earth
and with the global community
are all about.

Today the land question —
the question of what it is,
of how it is to be used,
and of who controls and
orders it —

are only beginning
to be addressed.

Masses of starving people
crying out for bread and land,
concerned environmentalists
who worry about the
earth's health,
and peace-makers who
realize that all could be lost
by fighting over it
are raising the issue.



Why is it so difficult to live
in trusting
unencumbered ways?
Is it because
we have come to believe
that our security
lies in having,
rather than in being?

We are "pre-conditioned"
to put our faith in
"the real thing,"
a drop of Olay,
toothpaste that is both
a cavity fighter and a
breath-freshener,
a Toyota Corolla,
micro-wave ovens,
instant pudding
genetic engineering and
Visa credit cards.

Have we succumbed
to the wrapping,
to the packaging,
more than to what
lies within?

What is it then
that will turn us
in the way of shalom —
in the way of love?
Can we dare to experiment
with what happiness is
and where it can be found,
not only for ourselves
but for all of creation?

God bids us to come
to green pastures
and living waters,
to joy and freedom.
Our sisters and brothers
cry out to us
to relinquish our grasp
to share, to say "yes"
to a fuller, more "wholesome" life.
All earth's creatures,
the land,
and all the world
invite us to communion,
cooperation,
to covenantal living.

Can we, enspirited by God,
bend down to touch the soil,
the land —
reach out to embrace the earth
and each other?
Can we say "yes" to life?

A return to the garden
to touch the soil again,
to learn joy and
"to front only the
essential facts of life,"
may be the start we need.

The Spirit of God
hovers over the earth,
as in the beginning,
and awaits our answer! □



WHO OWNS THE EARTH?

Land Ownership And The Quality Of Human Life

BY MARY ANN SMITH, M.M.

The question of who owns the land has a critical effect on the quality of life and may spell the difference between hunger and poverty or health and well-being. Increasingly, the arable land around the world is flowing into the hands of a few corporate elites. Consider the following facts and consequences of this trend:

United States

Small family farms in the United States declined from 6.8 million in 1935 to 2.3 million in 1974^{1*} and continue to go out of existence at alarming rates. The large agribusinesses that have bought up these farms can now virtually control the food supply in the U.S. and abroad. "Five percent of U.S. farmers now control more than fifty percent of U.S. agricultural land; the eight largest energy companies own 65 million acres; timber companies control 43 million acres; railroads 23 million."² This concentration of land ownership has led to significant social dislocation, to urban slums, unemployment and higher food costs. In addition, food has been used as a weapon in U.S. foreign policy.

Africa

Most of Africa suffers from food shortages. Seventy percent of the people on the continent remain rural-based, yet again and again agriculture receives insufficient priority in development plans. Lack of fuel and inadequate transportation facilities hamper food distribution and storage. Africa has sufficient natural resources to feed itself and have a sizable surplus of basic foodstuffs for export. The fact is that since 1960, when Africa was virtually food self-sufficient, there has been a gradual decline in food self-sufficiency. Projections for the year 2000 indicate that Africa may only produce 65 percent of its own needs by then.³ Problems in the Horn of Africa are presently further compounded by the steady influx of refugees and lack of food, fuel, housing, health care and educational facilities they need.

Asia

In Asia, where most of the world's people live, 80 percent of the population live and work in rural areas.

**Notes are on page 60*

MARY ANN SMITH, M.M. recently joined the staff of CODEL (Coordination in Development). As a Maryknoll Sister, she taught in several schools in the Philippines. This selection is based upon a talk given in October, 1981 to the Sixth National Consultation of Diocesan Rural Life Directors and Rural Ministers.



During the 1940's and 1950's, when industrialization was considered development, the rural areas were neglected. This forced many from the rural areas to go to cities where they lived in slums and supplied cheap labor for new industries, most of which were foreign owned. In the 1960's, when the "Green Revolution" arrived with its dependence on expensive (and often imported) fertilizers and pesticides, rural development was supposedly undertaken. However, only those with enough capital could purchase the hybrid seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Hence, the only thing that grew for the poor was the gap between them and the rich. Their chances of survival, much less development, diminished. Little by little, in the name of development and progress, large numbers of the poor have lost even their small farms.

One case in point is Dole Plantation in Kapalong, Davao del Norte, in the Philippines. This area was formerly inhabited by the Ata and Mandaya tribes who were pushed deeper into the hills at the turn of the century by lowland settlers from other islands. The lowlanders often got land cheaply from the Atas or Mandayas who would owe them for tobacco or other commodities. Later, as abaca plantations were developed, more powerful people came along and did the same thing to these farmers. (Abaca is the plant from which the fiber for manila hemp is obtained.)

Finally, the transnational corporations (TNCs) arrived, in this case, Dole Banana Plantation. Hacienda owners in cooperation with Dole became growers. Together, they gradually acquired not only the abaca land but also all the land which was formerly allowed to the tenant farmers for their homes and small vegetable gardens where tenants grew their own food. Homes and crops were destroyed to make room for bananas for export.

For three hectares (one hectare equals 2.47 acres) of corn, abaca and palay (rice), one farmer received 300 pesos (about U.S. \$38.00). Others got even less. Some didn't get anything.⁴ With no alternatives, farmers went to work on the plantations. They were told they would become permanent workers after a six month probation period. However, many were laid off just before the sixth month was completed. Wages were supposed to be 8 pesos a day excluding benefits (U.S. \$1.00). Workers actually received 4.75 pesos for the first year, 5.25 pesos the second year and after five years only 7.00 pesos (less than U.S. \$1.00). Working conditions are equally unjust and health is adversely affected by allergic and other reactions to chemicals used in spraying, washing, and packing fruit.

The farmers say "We are like prisoners here. At night before we sleep and in the morning when we wake up, we see nothing but bananas. What future will our children have in such a situation?"⁵

Sugar cane planters are similarly exploited in Northeast Thailand. Since 1965, when one local sugar mill was purchased by the Shibato Company of Japan (a subsidiary of Mitsui), planters have been caught

between this company and local companies who are trying to compete. More and more of the costs of fertilizers, soil improvement, road repair, and transportation have been passed along to the planters, often with arbitrarily determined interest rates.

One planter who became an organizer and leader of the group who protested these procedures was shot in his home. The shooting was not the first, nor will it end the conflict. Planters have been exploited for decades and will continue to be exploited on the basis of complex trading mechanisms.⁶

Latin America

In Latin America these stories are duplicated many times over. In Guatemala, for example, according to data collected in 1979,

81 percent of the children under five suffer from malnutrition; there is one teacher per 400 school-age children, and one policeman or soldier per 140 citizens, 65 percent of Guatemalans over 7 years of age are illiterate. Eight to ten bodies are found daily along the roadsides bearing signs of cruel torture. The minimum wage is \$1.12 per day in rural areas; in industry, \$2.00. Seventy percent of the population has an annual per capita income of \$75 or less. The majority of the Guatemalan people are Indian farmers, whose lands have been reduced to tiny plots. Extreme poverty forces them to migrate to work the harvest on the coffee plantations of the highlands and Pacific slopes, and the sugar and cotton plantations of the coastal area, providing large landowners with cheap labor.⁷

Conditions have worsened considerably in Guatemala since 1979. Systematic massacres have taken place in mountain villages such as San Miguel Acatan, Huehuetenango.

Military Rule

With tensions over land use and ownership increasing in the Third World, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of countries under direct/indirect military or authoritarian rule. In Southeast Asia almost every country has been taken over by martial law, or other form of authoritarian rule since the 1965 coup in Indonesia. (Japan and Hong Kong, for obvious economic reasons, are the exceptions.) The takeovers of these governments varied in style and name but the outcome was the same. Power is concentrated in the hands of civilian and/or military elites and those in their favor. Existing legal structures are dismantled or controlled. Media coverage is suppressed. People are systematically and forcefully denied basic civil and human rights. The local economy is re-structured to allow large TNCs to come in at bargain rates. Conditions favorable to them include large and extended tax exemptions, various forms of extremely favorable credit arrangements,

The question, then, is how did self-sufficient peoples become dependent?

land preparation, building construction and, last but not least, a large and docile work force. Measures that soon follow are wage controls, and/or destruction of existing unions, usually replaced by government or company unions designed to control the workers. The right to strike is denied, and the poor working conditions that already existed decline further. Government forces are used to control people and do so by tactics of force and fear with training and arms supplied by their stronger allies.

Who Benefits?

Benefits from such a system go to the local elites, the TNCs, and the supporting governments—whether they are of the capitalist or communist variety. The people, who are denied all access to participation in decision-making, pay the price. A great share of the burden in all cases is borne by women and children who are the poorest of the poor.

The Churches

The churches all too often try to remain neutral in the face of such grave injustices. The majority of the hierarchy, clergy, laity and religious often stands with the ruling class. In many countries there are smaller groups (one-third or less) among the hierarchy who stand with the people and offer support in various ways. Naturally, this division weakens the position of the religious community. The people for the most part are left to the mercy of oppressive systems. Some governments, notably the Philippines, have studied the churches and then recommended and supported actions carefully and deliberately designed to capitalize on the divisions and weaknesses of the churches and thereby neutralize their effectiveness.

Development of Underdevelopment

Many people ask, "why can't Third World peoples feed themselves?" As suggested in the examples above, land control has been a critical factor. For many peoples now classified as "Third World," dependency is a relatively new phenomenon. Their histories go back thousands of years and often include the development of great civilizations. In the past they were able to feed themselves or they would not have survived. The question, then, is how did self-sufficient peoples become dependent peoples?

In many places in the pre-colonial period life was simple but the majority had enough to eat and there was some quality to their life. Most people lived on small farms and produced their own basic needs. Surpluses were exchanged in barter or cash systems through which other desirable or necessary goods were obtained. It was not a utopian existence. There were wars, pestilence, and natural disasters to contend with, yet, in general, harmony was maintained among people, land and environment through traditional methods of farming, grazing, and

life style.

The colonial period drastically altered these structures and life styles. The needs of the mother country and the colonizer took precedence over the needs of local people. The introduction of monoculture farming and the plantation system gradually forced people off their land and left them without even enough arable land to produce adequate food for their own needs. Cash systems were introduced where there were no jobs for people to earn cash to purchase basic needs. Meanwhile, the colonial masters enriched themselves by exporting food and minerals to the mother country and its trading partners. This system has resulted in depletion of soil, destruction of mineral and other resources, poverty, destitution and dependence of local peoples.

Puerto Rico, for example, at the time of the Spanish-American War was producing all the food it needed in addition to exporting high quality coffee for the European market: "Coffee, unlike sugar, can be interspersed among food crops in the same land. Such a pattern of small-farm mixed cropping... made Puerto Ricans the best fed people of Latin America."⁸

After the U.S. took over in 1898, monoculture was introduced by large sugar companies which "by 1930 controlled 44 percent of all cultivated land. Sugar was rapidly crowding out food and large estates — generally foreign owned — were supplanting local family farms. People called sugar the 'hunger crop' as diseases related to hunger became common on the island."⁹ The impact of such a system on peoples' lives is devastating. Besides losing their land, the source of their food, they also lose their independence and self-respect.

In the 1940's and 1950's Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) established tax-exempt, export-oriented factories on the island. But the capital-intensive industries brought little employment. The result, one-third of the Puerto Rican population has emigrated in desperate search of a livelihood. This growing number of job-seekers has been just what corporations both in Puerto Rico and on the U.S. mainland have needed to keep wages low and profits high. By 1974, U.S. corporations were extracting one-third of all their Latin American profits from Puerto Rico. Meanwhile 70-80% of the population is eligible for food stamps compared to less than 6% in the 50 states.¹⁰

With slight variations on the theme, depending on history, climate, crops and local resources, a similar scenario could be developed for many of the so-called "developing" nations of the Third World. The impact on the lives of the people in country after country is disgraceful and sinful. Human lives and human values have been sacrificed time and again for the

sake of profits and power for elites in both "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries.

The end of the colonial period in political terms changed nothing but the externals. Economic colonialism has continued and expanded in the post-World War II period. Hidden by the facade of political independence, the economic exploitation of people, land and resources has escalated to a frightening degree. Lives, land, resources, ecology and environment have been seriously endangered.

Much of this degradation has been implicitly sanctioned by the U.S. and other Western powers who employ anti-communist rhetoric to justify the abuses. Massacres and atrocities of all sorts have been condoned by governments, military people of most western countries on this account. For fear of communism we have reaped a harvest of dehumanization which equals and often exceeds that of communism or any other ideology. Perhaps forty years ago rulers, business and military people could be forgiven for their excessive fears and zeal. But today, the victims of these forty years cry out to us for justice. Neither the extremes of capitalism nor those of communism have brought about justice and peace for all.

Role of the U.S. in the Third World

The U.S. plays a leading role in the world economy, and foreign business and government interests acknowledge and support such a role. According to Allan Nairn,

Guatemalan rightists, for example, look to Ronald Reagan as their last chance to cling to power. Amigos del Pais, a rightwing group of industrialists and agribusiness people, has been lobbying the U.S. Congress. Amigos has an annual budget of nearly half a million dollars to influence public opinion. And among the many Reagan aides to visit Guatemala was Richard Allen (former national security advisor to President Reagan) who was there only a few weeks before the election. "The Reagan aides' visits and supportive comments in 1980 were the talk of officials in Guatemala for days after their visit. Within weeks, death squad assassinations increased dramatically, and there was talk in government circles of 'harsher measures'."

Throughout all these meetings, the same understanding emerged: the Guatemalan rightists and the Reagan advisors shared the same basic views. No negotiating was necessary. The pact has four main elements

First, the Guatemalan government is to come off the list of those to whom military aid is prohibited...Second, a commitment has been made to resume Pentagon training

of the army and police in surveillance, intelligence, and interrogation techniques. Third is the promise that Reagan will cut back U.S. criticism of the death squads which has so tarnished the political and financial standing of the Guatemalan government...Finally, there (was) the expectation that Reagan would intervene militarily in the event that a popular uprising threatened the government. In anticipation of such support, businessmen gave their all for the Reagan campaign.¹¹

This all took place before Mr. Reagan actually became U.S. President. If we look at Guatemala today, we find an ever increasing reign of terror. Indians in remote villages are being systematically massacred. Most Guatemalan priests who live and work among the Indians are on the death list. Several Guatemalan priests and one from the United States (Stanley Rother of Oklahoma) have been murdered by government forces. American helicopters fly the troops into these remote areas where the Indians pitifully try to defend themselves with knives, sticks, and stones against the latest U.S. weaponry. The fundamental issue over which these deaths are perpetrated is not ideology, but control of the land and its resources.

The same story with some differences in details or methods has been unfolding in El Salvador, where in 1980, 10,000 were killed, and from January to June of 1981 more than 9,000 were killed, according to the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA).

The death tolls may be fewer, but in the Philippines, Chile, Korea and other places where U.S. military or business interests are ensconced, there is also government suppression emanating from the struggle over land and resources.

David Abalos, Chairman of the Department of Sociology of Seton Hall University, notes that,

...for the most part, the American public is very ignorant of Latin America in general, and especially is in the dark when matters of U.S. foreign policy are involved. The U.S. public assumes that the U.S. business



The fundamental issue over which these deaths are perpetrated is not ideology but control of the land and its resources.

and government involvement are for the welfare of the people in Latin America. They assume that the U.S. goal is to keep our Latin neighbors in the free enterprise system.¹²

In reality, free enterprise often means freedom for U.S. business to control all the conditions necessary to ensure its profits—production, marketing, advertising on the one hand and, on the other hand, repressive social, political and military restraints. Most of the risks are taken by the poor, a few by local collaborators, and sometimes very few by big business.

Mr. Abalos' statement on Latin America can be repeated for Asia and Africa. U.S. military and financial support supplies the backing for repressive governments around the globe. All of this is done under the rationale of anti-communism and national security. Hence, U.S. public support is unquestioningly and uncritically given.

The Philippines is an excellent example of how all this works. President Marcos declared Martial Law in 1972 in order to contain the communist New People's Army which he claimed was a threat to national security and to restore "law and order." It is known that the U.S. Ambassador was in the presidential palace in Manila the night before martial law was declared and since 1972 the U.S. has quadrupled its military aid to the Philippines. A strong nationalist movement which gained momentum in the 1960's and promoted a movement for economic independence from the U.S. was quelled. All laws designed to protect Filipino resources for the use of Filipinos were repealed or revised and the corporate world was given free reign. The Constitution of the land was re-written in 1973 to suit the wishes of the Marcos', their friends, and U.S. government and business. International funds were made readily available to support the new government.

The Chico River Basin Development Project in the Mountain Provinces of Northern Luzon in the Philippines is one example of how World Bank funds are used to support such governments. The U.S. controls 23 percent of the vote in the World Bank. A series of four dams was designed to be built along the Chico River, providing electricity to lowland provinces for industrial purposes at a cost of \$2.4 billion (before inflation) and generating 1,010 megawatts of electricity—equivalent to two nuclear plants. The negative consequence was that 16 *ilis* (villages) would be submerged, displacing 15,000 families or 100,000 citizens and destroying 2,000 stone-walled, irrigated rice terraces and 2,500 hectares of coffee and fruit trees which are the primary cash crop of the people. In addition, the people would be deprived of their hunting and fishing

grounds, and their political, religious, and cultural life would be destroyed. The people of Bontoc and Kalinga Provinces would not reap any of the benefits of the dams.

The government made promises of new lands, homes, water and so on. But members of another tribal group in the area heard those same promises over twenty years ago. To this day, many of those people have not received anything from the government and remain squatters on their own lands.

The controversy has continued since the mid-70s. The military and the government have tried all sorts of persuasion with the people and their leaders, from bribes and seduction to violence and murder. On April 24, 1980, government troops again resorted to violence and murdered one of the opposition leaders, Macli-ing, in the hopes of de-fusing the opposition. Instead, such a furor was raised on local, national, and international levels that the government had to acknowledge that government troops were responsible.¹³

Masagana 99, a program of the "Green Revolution" in the Philippines, is another example. It is one of many programs funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). A few years ago, AID evaluated some of its programs in developing nations and acknowledged that many were not all that successful. However, one they believed to be a success was the "*Masagana 99*" miracle rice program. *Masagana 99* did eventually allow the Philippines to become a rice exporter rather than a rice importer. If success is based on the increased balance of payments exchange, then the program would have to be called a success.

"*Masagana*" in Tagalog means fruitful, bountiful, or prosperous. Hence, the government slogan, "*Masagana 99* is good for you." The people, however, called the program "*Masama na 99*" which means miracle rice is bad for you. Why this difference of opinion? Weren't the people at least happy, if not grateful to be growing more rice?

As far as the people were concerned, the problems resulting from the new rice outweighed any benefits it might have brought to the national balance of payments. The pesticides brought severe health problems, and poor farmers could not afford the necessary fertilizer. Still today, loans are offered to encourage farmers to use "*Masagana 99*;" when they can't make the payments, they lose their land.

In addition, despite the fact that more rice was grown, the fact that it was used for export created greater shortages and higher prices at the local market. The result is that today, with the exception of Kampuchea, the poor in the Philippines are the worst fed people in Asia. More than 80 percent of Philippine pre-school children are grossly malnourished and the infant mortality rate is 7.2 percent¹⁴. In a land of beauty and rich natural resources like the Philippines such conditions do not happen by chance or by choice of the people. They are a direct result of the

manipulation of social, political, and economic structures for the benefit of the few.

U.S. businesses have had another impact on land around the world through continued sales of pesticides and drugs in Third World countries. Many of these are banned or restricted in the United States. Some are restricted in the U.S. even though deaths have been caused by their use. Still, they are knowingly produced and exported to Third World countries by U.S. corporations. The U.S. Government turns a deaf ear and says it can only control activities or sales in the U.S. and cannot impose its regulations on other countries. Corporations take advantage of larger loopholes in existing regulations which have been provided by generous or perhaps beleaguered legislators as a result of very expensive and very effective lobbying campaigns. Meanwhile, local governments and people in importing countries lack the education and means to adequately provide their own safeguards.

The irony is that the largest portion of pesticides used on food crops in the Third World is used on food for export. The U.S., therefore, imports food containing pesticides which are not allowed to be used in the U.S. Through the interdependent global ecological system, the U.S. also reaps rewards in the form of acid rains and contaminated water. Once more, the majority, who have not participated in decision-making, are paying the cost. The elite few are reaping the profits.

U.S. military sales and assistance programs for 1979 were over \$9 billion—well in excess of four times the total budget of AID. Despite explicit congressional prohibition, at least nine dictatorships, widely denounced for their violation of human rights, continued to receive assistance: pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, South Korea, Zaire, Paraguay and Haiti.

U.S. aid is highly concentrated in only a small number of countries chosen more for their military

and/or economic importance to the U.S. than for their poverty or genuine commitment to development. In fact, the U.S. practice has been to cut off aid when *genuine* agrarian reforms are underway, as for example, in Chile, Thailand (and post-revolution Nicaragua). The same can be said for World Bank loan recipients as well as other multilateral funding sources.¹⁵

Churches in the United States and in other countries have been involved in this process wittingly or otherwise. Whether through ignorance or complicity, missionaries overseas, as well as clergy, laity and religious in the U.S. have, in the past, complacently and uncritically played a part in oppression.

How Will We Choose?

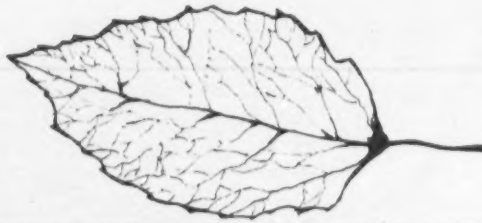
The choice is ours. Are we going to support policies and actions by government, military and business communities which make people and human values subservient to profit and power? Or are we going to place people, their dignity and their rights, at the center and logically work to develop policies which will enhance the value of human life? The future of our children and the legacy we leave to future generations will be shaped by our decisions.

We live in critical and exciting times. Our world is on the verge of giving birth to a new era in the history of creation. As citizens of the Global Community, it is urgent that we reflect critically on our reality. In an increasingly interdependent world community, we need to study the data and analyze the causes and the impact in terms of the quality of peoples' lives. Although we live in a world of limitations, we have a responsibility toward present and future generations to provide a world not built on an economy of war, fear and distrust but on one of justice and peace where all peoples have enough food and the opportunity to live decent lives worthy of human beings created in the image of God. □



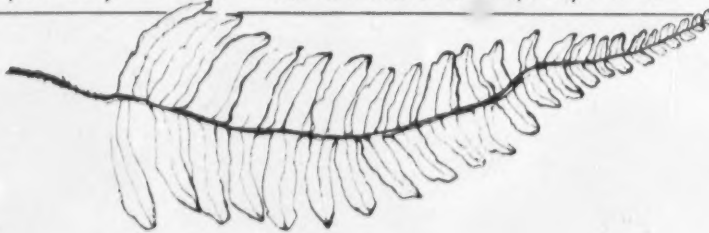
PLANETARY MANAGEMENT

BY THOMAS BERRY



Earth Revelation

Earth presents itself along with its solar source of radiant energy as the most complex community that we know of. The revelation we are now experiencing is giving us a new understanding of this community and of our place and our role within it. We begin to see that our education, our norm of values, our aesthetics, our emotional life, as well as our physical nourishment and the air we breathe, all come from this community. Even beyond this, our intellectual activity and our imaginative ability as well as our scientific understanding, all these also come from the earth. Even our participation in the ultimate numinous mystery of existence comes from the earth and is a planetary as well as a human and individual experience.



One of the things needed at the present time is a transformation of the managerial function. It has deeply penetrated human life and the earth process but has not carried with it proportionate responsibility for the consequences of its actions. Very little can be done in rectifying present crises without addressing ourselves to this managerial role.

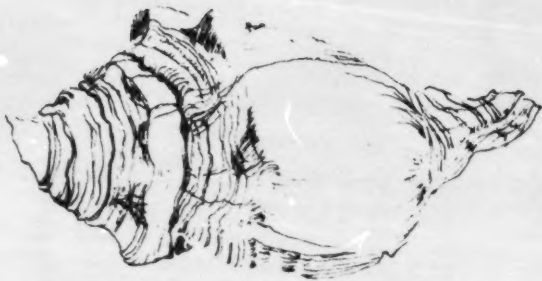
Planetary management may be the ultimate issue. The future requires that the management function enter the planetary phase of its activities and that it be guided by the living world of interior forces as well as a world of mechanical processes.

Large corporations have shown some concern for the consequences of their activities by setting up founda-

tions through which they support research that would assist in understanding human issues and how the present human community can best enter into the dynamics of the future. Until recently, however, they have shown little capacity for inner self-transformation in terms of their larger responsibilities to the natural world. While management of the great corporate enterprises has extended itself profoundly into human life, its essential interests tend to be limited to certain immediate effects, to what is "profitable" no matter how trivial or how ultimately harmful to the earth we inhabit. When questions concerning the larger meaning of the earth's functioning are asked, it is generally considered to be "philosophy" or "speculation" and outside managerial concern and competence.

In reality, however, there is no way of limiting the effects or influences of a commercial or industrial process that exploits the earth's resources and which enters into the dynamics of the earth process itself. Responsibility extends as far as the effects are felt and

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in fact these effects are felt throughout the total earth system. Management, whether commercial or governmental, is involved in a planetary process and must accept the title of "planetary" management. This becomes increasingly clear as we become aware of how earth forces in their complexity function as a single comprehensive system.

This understanding has not yet been widespread and this responsibility not yet accepted. Those directing the affairs of the vast commercial enterprises tend to refuse serious discussion of the meaning of their activity in relationship to the earth community. In this they share a common failing of our entire society.

Our planet had, over some billions of years, worked out a self-functioning and self-managing system so intricate that all our scientific efforts have come to understand only the marginal areas of this system. However, even this marginal knowledge penetrates so deep that it gives us an amazing power to use and interfere with the earth process, disrupting the entire system. This disruption is much greater than we had realized until recently. Now we face a radical confrontation with a planet that is largely despoiled and which, if our planetary management program is not revised, can in a foreseeable period of time become inhospitable to the higher forms of life.

When first introduced, human efforts at management of the natural world were a radical reversal of the earlier sense of being governed by the natural world, which was seen as sacred and which found expression in the great cosmological religions of the archaic classical civilizations. In this departure to a managerial role, humans saw as their "sacred" function the governing of the natural world through rational norms of action and for the utility of humankind. This implicit sacralization sustained the extraordinary psychic energy needed to develop a deep, scientific understanding of the universe and to extract from the earth its most powerful energies. Now westerners are shocked to discover that such "sacred" activity could lead to such demonic consequences. For this "sacred" role has led us into an impasse and our next "sacred" role has not yet fully revealed itself.

The difficulty now is that we cannot withdraw from the managerial responsibility, nor do we have immediately the capacity for carrying out this

managerial task in any adequate way. It might, however, be helpful at this time to know how this situation arose, what remedies have been sought in the past, what is the present status of the issue and what suggestions can be made for a future course of action.

Toward a Managerial Ethos

While the rise of technology in the western world with its specific characteristics can be traced back as early as the fourth century A.D., the first complete statement of the modern managerial ethos is that of Francis Bacon who assigned to humans the principal role of managing the earth in a way that was hardly conceived prior to his time. Although the ethos Bacon expounded was not itself so much the cause as an explanation of what followed, it did provide a rationale for the entire modern effort to bring the earth under human management, the effort to substitute a manipulative human providence for the inner divine-natural control of the world.

This managerial function has affected everything human as well as the entire earth process. Governments have become vast managerial bureaucracies. The professions of medicine and law have become largely manipulative processes. Education has become an external conditioning rather than an inner transformation. Learning has become technical and statistical. The real world is that which can be manipulated.

This is all evidence of something profound in the western mode of being although it has taken centuries for this ethos to reach the intellectual expression given by Bacon as well as to function as it now does in the industrial society that arose in the 19th and 20th centuries. That both the theory and the practice are ultimately rooted in the earliest sources of western spiritual formation can hardly be doubted. That the managerial ethos has been fostered by most currents of western thought is also quite clear. Thus to reach the origin of our difficulty requires a type of historical and cultural archeology that we are only now considering.

Most striking is the fact that both dominant forms of social and economic life in western society, the capitalist and the communist, agree in their basic commitment to a highly developed managerial ethos even though they differ in whether this management should be exercised primarily under governmental or non-governmental control. Presently both are caught in an impasse. It is difficult to see how either will extricate itself. Meanwhile a third world of nations is so attracted to this same ethos that these nations also are being led into an ultimate disequilibrium with the natural world about them.

Response to The Industrial Revolution

In the late 18th and in the 19th centuries factory management was developing in England and elsewhere in the western world. The banking systems of

modern capitalism were acquiring their financial resources. There was excitement about railroads and steamships. Mining towns were rising. Iron and steel furnaces were blackening the countryside. But most significant was the rise of the modern corporation as the directive power of the entire process.

By this time management had become a compulsion with its own mystique. This mystique had its origin not only in the thought of Francis Bacon but also in the new cosmology of Isaac Newton. Newton set forth the mechanics of the universe in understandable and convincing terms and provided a model for human activity based on continuing this process in a rational directive fashion. Since in Newton's world the universe had no need for divine guidance once it was set in operation, the final guidance rested in humans who alone understood how the world functioned. Providing the world with a "higher" purpose and direction was seen as the proper function of humans.

William Blake was the genius who saw most clearly what was happening. With almost infallible instinct he directed his work against Bacon and Newton. The romanticists of the 19th century saw the emotional and aesthetic as well as the spiritual losses that were taking place. Darwin at this time was making his discovery of the larger dynamics of the biosphere and its evolutionary processes. Henry Thoreau was having his Walden experience. John Muir was walking through the high Sierras and writing of the Toulumne Valley and the Merced River and the Yosemite formations.

These men saw the destructive side of the managerial ethos and the devastation it was producing. Attachment to the earth in its natural functioning was being forsaken at the same time as the forests and the buffalo were being destroyed. Instinctively, certain individuals like John Muir sought to save some wilderness areas in order to indicate the marvelous management of primordial nature in the vast interweaving of its living and non-living forms.

While this knowledge of Thoreau and Muir was from an observational, contemplative and aesthetic basis, it was something quite new in human historical experience. Theirs was not simply the intuitive presence in the natural world similar to that of tribal communities in an earlier period. That kind of experience was no longer possible. The intervention of science and technology was absolute and irreversible. These were men with scientific capacity for observation, but who also saw the total dynamics of the natural world as a single interacting organism in which humans found their being and their most exalted experiences.

In the United States in the 19th century, there was a strong romantic element in the aversion to the way humans intruded upon the functioning of the natural world. This can be seen in the first extensive essay of Emerson entitled simply, *Nature*. This work still expresses for us a profound sense of communion and

of human fulfillment in and through the natural world.

These writers of the nineteenth century were for the most part less than religious according to the standard patterns of western religious traditions at the time. They were creating a new religious mood, as can be seen particularly in John Muir's writings where in contrast to the more studied emotion or romantic aesthetics of Emerson, he demonstrates a more thorough command of science and a more deeply religious feeling.

While the natural history essay which originated in England was being developed in America by Henry Thoreau and John Muir, the vitalist philosophy of intimate feeling for the entire web of living reality was being developed on the European continent by Goethe and Schelling. This vitalist philosophical vision would lead on to Bergson whose philosophy together with that of Whitehead would provide still later the intellectual basis for a more functional understanding of the natural community of the earth. This larger understanding has still not been fully set forth, in spite of all these contributions.

The deeper significance of what was happening in the managerial revolution can be seen in the work of the conservationists of the late 19th century in America. Here we find conservationists whose efforts were directed to preservation of the earth and its dynamic expression, and yet whose managerial role led them to upset the natural process itself by a direct elimination of some of the most vital members of the earth community. The conservationists systematically poisoned the predator animals as part of their managerial function. Efforts at conservation directed by the Bureau of Biological Survey in the Department of Agriculture came to be a supreme danger to the natural world. The whole idea of "protection" was directed more to the protection of the agricultural world of humans than to protection of the natural world as matrix of the human. So too in the agricultural colleges of America the teaching led to excessive mechanization of farming and to such an extensive use of chemicals that large areas of topsoil were ruined when they were not blown away during the dust-storms of the late 1930s.

Impatience with Natural Processes

Thus the academicians as well as government agents displayed awkwardness and general incompetence in exercising the managerial role in guiding or controlling nature. By attaining despotic control over the phenomenal world there was less regard for natural processes. There was an impatience with the needs of nature, with the established cosmic rhythms and with the dynamics of the life cycle. The earth must be managed with ever greater pressures. The life process must be activated at a feverish level. Pressure on management to produce means that the earth must be forced to produce, less in accord with its capacity than in accord with human demands.

In addition to ignorance of and impatience with natural processes, there was also a western attitude that the natural world had no inherent rights but was totally subservient to human control and human purposes, whatever these were. This ultimate degradation of the natural world has still not been overcome in the modern times, although a defense of the inherent rights of the natural world was presented by Aldo Leopold in his essay on "A Land Ethic" in the 1940s. The position taken in this essay is often referred to, but it still remains inadequately developed in its basic ideas, despite the impressive contribution in this direction made in 1978 by Robert Cahn, in *Footprints on the Planet: a Search for an Environmental Ethic*.

There did exist then, from the 18th century to the present, a continuing quest in the emotional, aesthetic, ethical, scientific, philosophical and social orders to keep an intimate relation to the natural world and to defend this world against a destructive presence. In the religious order, however, little attention was given to the natural world as a truly functional community of which humans were a part. A certain awareness of natural phenomena is expressed in ritual, in prayer and in religious phrases. The theological doctrine of divine creation is preached. But this is quite distant from any effective sense of communion with the natural world. Nor does it propose any discipline or guidance for humans in their exploitation of the earth.

The managerial ethos of the present day has expanded on a global scale through multinational corporations with their comprehensive inventories of earth resources. It is also embodied in conglomerates, loose clusterings of various commercial enterprises under some one or another title.

Through these global enterprises, the managerial process extends its areas of exploitation over the earth and its influences throughout the human community and even into the manipulation of governments. While this has not immediately produced any deepened reflection on meaning in the commercial establishment, it has set up a context in which the earthly limits of the exploitative process can be seen and in which the fundamental issue of responsibility begins to appear. This magnification of the scale of functioning of human institutions can be observed not only in commerce but in all phases of life. The technologies of human communication now have an immediate planetary range. We have come definitively into an age of comprehensive knowledge, activity and management.

In reality this universal scope of human understanding and activity is nothing new. Human life has always functioned in this comprehensive context. The difference is simply that in earlier times humans knew intuitively and acted primarily by way of mythic communion processes while now we know by scientific calculation and act by manipulative processes.

This is indeed something new since scientific knowledge has functioned primarily by analytical reduction to component parts rather than by perception of the more comprehensive inner form of things. So too, manipulative management has been effective primarily by avoiding the more significant human and interior aspects of life in both the natural and human worlds.

Even such a competent thinker as Peter Drucker in his general guide book entitled *Management*, published in 1977, gives no significant place to the earth context in which all human management takes place although this same managerial activity of the earth community is quietly, but forcefully, negating the efficacy of the recent human managerial activities and is asserting its presence and its control in several ways. First it is revealing the end of the exploitative process by a massive retaliation in the form of poisons with which it now threatens the managerial class as well as the human species generally. The earth will no longer endure the abuse it has been receiving.

More importantly, however, the earth, which gave life to humans and which has given them extensive controls over the earth process, is educating them out of their juvenile recklessness into a maturity in every phase of life. The main element in this maturity is the revelation to them that, while they have a distinctive and exalted role to fulfill in earthly affairs, they still are members of the earth community and their well-being cannot be achieved apart from the well-being of the community.

Earth Revelation

An earth revelation is taking place. Much of this revelation is in its substance quite ancient, but in its mode and its new historical mission it is startling in its newness. It is emerging from within the scientific context of modern intelligence and from within a new concept of the managerial role that no longer functions either by a conquest of nature or for the ephemeral purposes of traditional management, but by intimate communion with nature and for the more sublime experiences that are available to humans within the earth.

The entire dynamic of the human process has been profoundly impacted by this revelatory experience. In religion this impact is being felt as a change from a primary concern with redemption dynamics to a primary focus on emergent-creation dynamics. The power of this new religious attitude is that the story of the origin of the universe based on current knowledge can be accepted as revelatory and as a basis for an intimate experience of human solidarity with the entire cosmic-historical order. Once this happens, then a foundation exists for the new sense of the earth as a community exercising the primary managerial role. Apparently, humankind's ancient solidarity with the universe and especially with the earth had to be lost for a while in order to be recovered in a new context. This may have been the role of western civili-

zation from the beginning, a role with its demonic if also its divine aspect.

As the new phase of the historical dialectic takes place we find ourselves no longer in the special world of antiquity but in the time world of an evolving universe with the excitement that is associated with this vast complex of highly differentiated forms of life.

Earth presents itself along with its solar source of radiant energy as the most complex community that we know of. The revelation we are now experiencing is giving us a new understanding of this community and of our place and our role within it. We begin to see that our education, our norm of values, our aesthetics, our emotional life, as well as our physical nourishment and the air we breathe, all come from this community. Even beyond this, our intellectual activity and our imaginative ability as well as our scientific understanding, all these also come from the earth. Even our participation in the ultimate numinous mystery of existence comes from the earth and is a planetary as well as a human and individual experience.

Towards Transformation

Most important at this moment is the radical change that is involved in our concept of the managerial role of humans. That they do have a special guiding role within the earth community is clear. But that role is one that works in a subordinate relation to the comprehensive self-guidance that exists within the total earth complex. It moves, as do all life functions, primarily by inner relationships and by evocative processes rather than by despotic processes. It unfolds in relation to a total earth community wherein no part can be affected without affecting all the other parts. It functions for the enhancement of the whole not simply for the enjoyment or utility of the human component. It works in a specific historical context which must take into account the existing circumstances of its functioning.

Such a view of the managerial role may seem utopian or unrealistic to our society generally, but it has in it a hard and terrible realism because it enunciates the basic conditions for survival. In reality, the utopian, unrealistic, illusory world is the world of corporate management as we have known it in recent centuries. It is not clear how we will evaluate the four centuries between 1600 and 2000 or more specifically just the 20th when science and technology were united and then brought under the direction of recent corporate management. What is clear is that faith in the establishment has been weakened not simply because of incidental defects, but because of the very nature of its functioning. A new managerial pattern is beginning to emerge. It is happening within the context of a new understanding of the total earth process.

As in most cases of such momentous change, several observations can be made:



1. The former pattern of action reaches monumental dimensions in its apparent efficacy;
2. The new vision appears faintly but universally;
3. There is a long period of groping toward the full expression of the new vision, a period when a multitude of dramatic but short-lived tangential movements take place;
4. A widespread agreement on essential characteristics of the new vision begins to manifest itself;
5. The transformation moment arrives and the new order is begun.

All of this is happening in the vast swirl of human activities that is taking place on the planet at the present time. The supreme need is for the psychic energy to sustain the present tension, to discern the direction of movement, and to inaugurate the new forms in which human fulfillment can be attained. This energy comes from several sources: from an awareness of the past transitional moments in the earth process, from the widespread human agreement on the directions that human affairs must now take, and from that experience of the future which is already available in anticipation. Yet there is one other sustaining force in human activity at this time: an awareness that the components of the existing order of life with all their distinctive aspects are themselves available and infinitely helpful in the new order.

The future is not the rejection but the transformation of the past. Even more important than this is the fact that each human discipline has within itself an in-built corrective tendency. Technology has this tendency, so does science, so does the managerial role. Each of these tends toward a more functional role in the earth community. Each is capable of the transformation that must take place to fit into the new order. Each attains its perfection not by suppression but by a more complete and more interior activation. This is especially true of the scientific endeavor which now is aware that human thought is a process whereby the earth comes to know itself in humankind.

When the question is asked concerning the objective and subjective content of scientific knowledge or about the anthropomorphic aspect of scientific consciousness, the answer lies in the psychic quality of the universe from its beginning and in its least



particle. The radiant form or intelligibility of any articulated reality is already a patterned energy charged with an inner value already psychic, mythic and numinous. The universe is not some indefinitely extended homogenous substance but a vibrant complex of clearly articulated energies with this "inner" psychic as well as an "outer" physical aspect.

These particles, from the most elementary forms, from the molecular, cellular and organic structures, up to the highest forms of consciousness, are all interacting in a universe so integral with itself, so drawn together by gravitational attraction, organic identity, emotional sympathies and conscious communion that the whole has traditionally been referred to as "cosmic person," or as some organic form. This organic form of the total earth complex is seen by the contemporary biologist, Lewis Thomas, as "a single cell."

Again, seen in its full extent and over the vast time period of its development, the earth is seen as an "embryogenesis." These organic metaphors enable modern science to join with ancient intuitions in identifying the unity and inner directness of the earth community. Once this is seen, it is obvious that any valid managerial control exercised on this process must consider its inner vital quality and the relatedness of all its functions.

A New Role for Science

Thus, science, in its ultimate insight, overcomes its mechanistic and analytical aspects in an act of subjective communion with the earth community. This achieved, science then can begin its new role in healing the damage already done to the earth and in assisting the creative interaction between the human community and the earth process. What is said of science can be said in a parallel way of technology, although the population pressures, available energy limitations, and limited food resources have been pushing people toward nuclear energies, toward chemical poisoning of the land, toward continued destruction of forest areas, toward increasing the deadly pollutants in the atmosphere. Just how such terrifying use of existing technologies can be avoided remains a question. We must use all the available resources of mature morality, intelligence and imagination to overcome these dangers.

Alternative technologies are increasingly

available, although the change in life styles required would be extensive. At our present rate of expenditures we are faced with an inevitable exhaustion of resources. According to a study done under United Nations auspices "the world is expected to consume during the last 30 years of the twentieth century from three to four times the volume of minerals that has been consumed throughout the whole previous history of civilization" (The Future of the World Economy, 1977, p. 5.). Just as the acceleration of such exploitation, such inorganic growth processes, and the structuring of an unsustainable life context have come about by technological processes, so the disengagement from these processes must involve alternative technologies which integrate with the more intimate organic and renewable resources of the earth and which rely more extensively on psychic energies than has previously been the case.

So too the managerial role must undergo its transformation. Just as the great management establishments took control over both the scientific and the technological processes of the past, so the large-scale guidance into the future depends on the managerial genius that must assert itself.

To identify the specific qualities of the new managerial function is among the most important tasks of any serious discussion of the future. The main aspects of this issue have already been suggested. Planetary management is a planetary function, not merely a human function. It functions primarily by evocative rather than by despotic processes. It responds to the inner rhythms of the earth. It is concerned with patterns of human survival and enhancement of life as human. This leads into the ecological issue, which requires special attention.

The Flow of Life

"Ecology" is a term that designates a study of the inter-relatedness of all the living and non-living systems of the earth as these exist and flourish under the light and warmth and energy of the sun. In recent times it has come to be a branch of the science of thermodynamics. It measures the in-flow of energy and the sequence of its transformations as these take place in the earth community. The nourishment, development and survival of earth beings is dependent on these vital energies flowing from one to the other throughout the entire earth system.

This flow of life passes through a cycle which in its natural state has wonderful renewal capacities. For the greater part of human existence people survived with little interference in or control over this cycle. A few thousand years ago, however, humans began to bring some aspects of this cycle and some components of the earth community under their management. Until recent times human demands were limited, population was not overwhelming and the human ability to interfere with the total range of earth dynamics was not very great. Then an abrupt transformation occurred, with an assault on the earth, its subjugation, and the structuring of a life context for

humans based largely on the non-renewable fuel and ores of the earth. The machines that extracted the energy from these substances made available a mode of human existence that has within it vast powers of consumption but almost no capacity for renewal.

Although this new mode of existence was from the beginning based on the burning off of irreplaceable energies, this was not, and still is not, fully appreciated. Nor is the poisonous effect of this energy consumption on the air, land and waters of the earth or its effect on the life cycle understood. In addition, there has been another, more direct interference with the life cycle through the use of chemicals. Pesticides have been used to defend one aspect of the life cycle against another in a certain ignorance of the full consequence of such an interference.

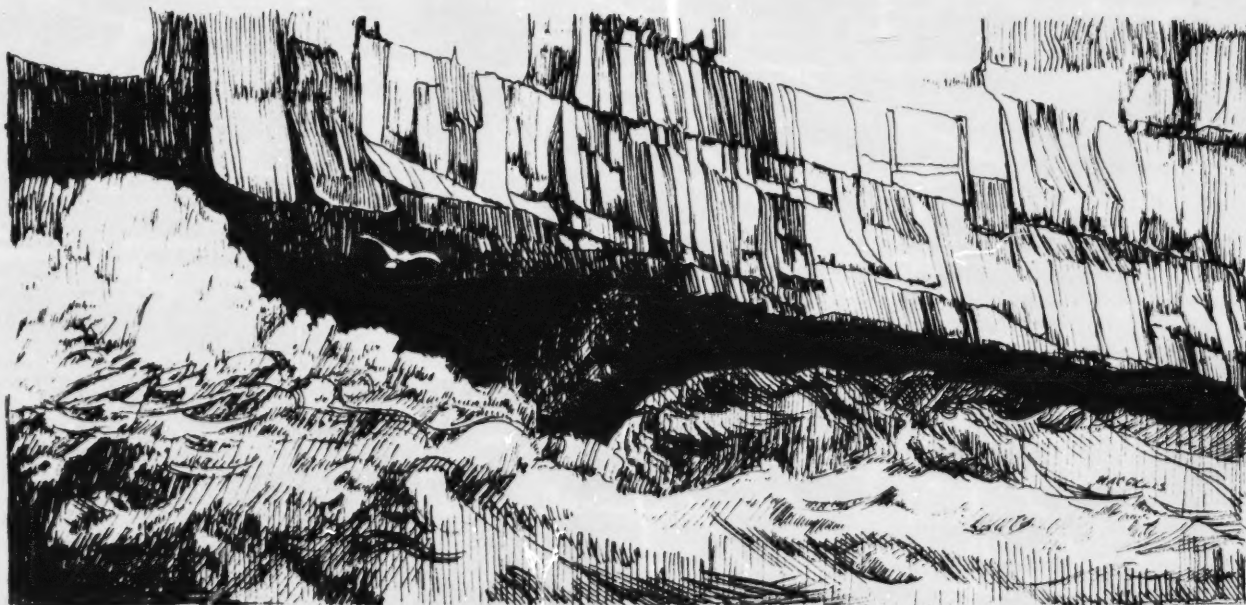
To remedy the monumental difficulties emerging from this kind of inept managerial activity, we must understand the way energy flows through the life cycle and avoid the destructive activities that interfere with the environment. We also need to deepen our feeling for the earth and our capacity to accept the delight, the education, the healing, that comes to us in and through the earth. We need a new religious context for transforming modern existence. We need to experience in the depths of our being the mystical exaltation that comes from communion with the earth and with the numinous presence.

I am not suggesting an arcadian or utopian or purely romantic ideal of life. However, a mechanistic world given over to manipulative processes cannot satisfy a need for interior communion. Nor can it sustain the excitement of living in an emerging universe filled with mystery as well as with the simple

satisfactions of daily living. No recovery of a sustainable way of life is possible unless the human community is activated by such visionary experience. Questions of population limitation, restriction in energy use, greater food production, elimination of environmental poisoning—all of these depend ultimately upon a psychic energy, upon a will to live, upon what might be called "a taste for life."

Renewal of a "taste for life" in a larger context has begun spontaneously in a multitude of places. Along with this renewal has come a keen opposition to exploitative relations with the natural world and a demand that human institutions establish themselves within a more integral earth-human process. Neither management nor any other functional group in our society can any longer expect to continue an irresponsible course. The "bottom line" of profit that has been guiding the managerial role is now being forced to yield to two even more basic bottom lines.

The first of these "bottom lines" is human welfare. Since every managerial establishment exists by license from society and for its human benefit, a society, to protect itself, must require the managerial establishment to fulfill this purpose of its being. Then below this "bottom line" is the "bottom line" of the earth community itself. Any corporation that invades the earth in a destructive manner is entering into a conflict that it cannot win. The human in all its activities has emerged out of the earth context and as a function of the earth. Any dysfunction within that context is certain to be resisted and eventually eliminated. The future of management and of our entire society lies in our ability to bring these three "bottom lines" into accord. □



LAND: THE FOUNDATION OF HUMANNES

BY WALTER BRUEGGEMANN

It is a foundational premise of the Bible that all God's children shall have land. It is a poetic vision of biblical faith that every person should have a *safe place* with "none to make afraid" (Lev. 26:5-6), a place in which to be able to *produce* the things for life (Amos 9:13-15) and *enjoy* the results of that produce (Eccles. 6:1-6).

The Bible is resiliently earthly and earthy, knowing that human persons belong undeniably with the land and cannot be fully human without secure, protected land for safety, productivity and enjoyment. The Bible resists every attempt to reduce its claims to things that are spiritual and heavenly. It is unashamedly concerned for the placement and possibility of life *in the earth*.

This poetic promise that all of God's children shall have land is already announced in *Genesis 1-2*. The human linkage to land is understood as belonging to the very structure of creation, before any human decision making. Thus, in *Genesis 1:26-29*, humankind is ordained by God to have dominion over the land/earth, to care for it and benefit from it and shape it for human joy and well-being. And it is the same, though more concretely expressed, in *Genesis 2:15-16*:

The Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden..."

Humankind is created by God not to live in a vacuum or in chaos (cf. *Isaiah 18-19*), but in a luxurious and joyous, life-giving system of productive land. The play on words, *Adam* (humankind)/*adamah* (earth) is lost in English translation. But it is essential for understanding both land and humanness:

And humankind (adam) was not to till the land (adamah) (Gen. 2:5). The Lord God formed humankind (adam) from the dust of the ground (adamah) (2:7). So the Lord God formed out of the ground (adamah) every beast...and brought them to humankind (adam) to see what he would name them (2:19).

That poetic promise is not only ordained in the structure of creation. It is also the driving power of Israel's historical memory. The liberation from slavery in Egypt was to deliver slaves from an



oppressive imperial system to a new, safe place, a land of well-being (*Exodus 3:8*). It is clear that at root the biblical narrative concerns political-economic processes whereby oppressed (landless) folks are invited by God to become free and landed. The exodus and entry into the land is not a spiritual pilgrimage but it is a decisive change in the rules and procedures of land holding. Israel is a social experiment of reordering land in opposition to the land-tenure systems of imperial oppression.

This historical memory is presented in two very different ways. On the one hand there is *land possession*—the story of Joshua which talks about a violent seizure of land from those who wrongly hold it and use it for exploitation. That may offend our sensitivities, especially if we view the Bible as concerned with only "spiritual" matters. And surely that violent action does not need to be justified by us. But it does tell us that the promise for land is so urgent and non-negotiable that land-denying social structures (e.g. tax laws that exploit some to the benefit of others) must be harshly challenged.

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The other mode of historical report is *land reception*, so that land is the free, amazing gift of God to God's newly liberated people. One mode speaks of the people taking initiative, the other sees God as the redivider of land. So, in the latter mode, *Deuteronomy* can become almost lyrical:

For the Lord your God is bringing you into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of foundations and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of live trees and honey, a land in which you will eat bread without scarcity, in which you will lack nothing, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills you can dig copper. And you shall eat and be full, and you shall bless the Lord your God for the good land he has given you (8:7-10).

The poetic vision, of course, very soon runs into shabby historical reality. The Bible knows our world very well. It knows that land is not made available to all persons, either by possession or reception. It knows that all persons do not have land for safety, productivity and rejoicing. It knows that God's will for creation has not come to fruition.

In its own way the Bible engages in criticism of the social systems which oppose God's promise. In reality, land is inequitably distributed. Some have much more than needed; some have not enough; and some have none at all (*Exodus 16:17-18*). And that injustice is not because of an historical accident or because God has intended land to be so unfairly managed. It is because of rapaciousness that takes place by war, by plunder and by inhumane government confiscation in exploitative taxes that support the managers of the economy against their helpless victims.

Land *promise* is more than matched by land *usurpation* which violates God's intention and which violates human possibility and human hope. The inequity is not wrought only by physical violence but by skewed social practice which exploits in quiet, unnoticed and "legal" ways.

The prophets of Israel mount a sustained critique against every social practice which denies people this *sine qua non* for humanness. The key statement is *Micah 2:1-5* in which the powerful people of society covet and scheme and find ways to take land from the naive, innocent and helpless (vv. 1-2). Micah's anticipation is that the greedy will lose what they have (vv. 3-4) and when the land is reassigned "line by lot" (as surely it will be), they will not have access to the redistribution meeting (called the "assembly of the Lord"), (v. 5). Micah gives a critique but also a resilient hope that sooner or later the land will be reassigned. Eventually God's will for creation will not be nullified by oppressive social policy. It is a powerful hope, but also a passionate concrete social assertion for a specific future.

In the giving of land, God does not abandon the intent that the land will be humanely managed and shared.

That same stern comment on social reality is pervasive among the prophets. In *Hosea 2*, with the metaphor of divorce and remarriage, the poet presents a dramatic statement of *land loss* and *land gift*. In vv. 2-13, the divorce proceedings show Israel unable to be faithful to the land giver. And because of that fickleness there is a loss of grain, wine, oil, wool, flax (vv. 8-9), that is, a loss of all land produce. Israel is divorced not only from God, but from the land. And finally there is an end of joy, because God denies Israel the partnership of land (vv. 11-13). Then there is a dramatic reversal (vv. 16-23), a remarriage and a new gift of land that will be fully productive, so that Israel may again rejoice and delight (see especially v. 22). But in the new ordering there will be no "grain, wine, oil," (v. 22) unless it is matched by "righteousness, justice, steadfast love and mercy" (vv. 20-21). It is land held on Yahweh's terms.

The statement is cast as poetry. But that should not cause us to miss the social realism of the poet. Land loss occurs when Israel joins the social system and practice of the "lovers," (cf. vv. 7, 10, cf. 8-9) that is, land exploiting policies of other rapacious nations who thought the holding of land was simply a matter of legal power without human concern. The poet asserts that only those whose social policy is a practice of justice, mercy, truth and righteousness can have safe land.

It is the same in *Jeremiah 2:1-13*. In the beginning, in the "honeymoon" period, Israel enjoyed obedient fellowship with God (vv. 2-3). But then Israel is reprimanded for polluting the land (v. 7). The sure result is that Israel is denied the water it requires for landed living and ends up only with broken cisterns from which neither humanness nor land can have prosperity (v. 13).

In giving of land, God does not abandon the intent that the land will be humanely managed and shared.

The Bible is such an important resource for understanding land because it puts us squarely between poetic vision and social reality. The poetic vision is the basic assertion that God wills land for all humanity. The social reality, articulated especially by the prophets, shows that greed and usurpation by unequal social systems have created a world in which the poetic vision is skewed and the very hopes of God are resisted by institutional and programmatic design.

The issue for Biblical interpretation is how to hold together such a marvelous social vision and such a desperate social reality. Indeed, the problem of human living is how to transform social reality so that it embodies this poetic vision. It is the sure conviction of the Bible that God will not quit until that social reality conforms to the social vision. The Bible in various ways addresses this fundamental incongruity of human life.

First, there are bold legislative proposals and solutions. None is more bold than the provision of *Leviticus 25* for a practice of Jubilee. This law provides that, regularly, land will be rested, debts will be cancelled and land will be returned to its rightful original owner, even if that person lost the land on a bad debt.

The law asserts the main claim of the Bible concerning land. Land is an inviolate inheritance for all the people. No exercise of eminent domain, no amount of rapacious taxes, no royal usurpation, no sharp economic dealing of buying, selling or trading can override that deep claim. This law is proposed as a guard and barrier against all social policy that believes human persons have only optional, negotiable links to the land. That is why boundary posts cannot be moved, especially for helpless people (*Deuteronomy 19:14, 27:17, Proverbs 22:28, 23:10, Isaiah 10:14*). Even peasants and legally helpless widows are to receive a guarantee of land protection, a guarantee which is not to be violated. That is the basic biblical resolution of the incongruity of vision and reality. The resolution is not simply theological. It is embodied in legal, social practice.

For Christians, the law in *Leviticus 25* is basic because it is the biblical text which Jesus refers to in his announcement of *Luke 4:18-19* (by way of *Isaiah 61:1-3*):

...he has anointed me to preach
good news to the poor,
he has sent me to proclaim release
to the captives...
to set at liberty those who are
oppressed,
to proclaim the acceptable year of
the Lord.

Jesus begins by announcing the Jubilee. The "acceptable year" is the year of land release. The "return of captives" is the release of debt slaves who had lost their land because they could not pay the

mortgage. The Jesus movement in the New Testament is more than this, but it is crucially a land movement that reasserts peasant rights to land against all social practice and policy that diminishes the land of the poor and helpless. Thus, Jesus seeks to implement in social practice the poetic vision of the Old Testament, undertaking for his time what Moses did in his.

Indeed, many of Jesus' "miracles" are best understood as acts seeking to transform land practice. Most dramatically, in *Luke 16:19-31*, Jesus tells the story of a poor man (Lazarus) denied by a rich man who "operates" the economic system for his own cynical advantage. But in the reckoning (which is unavoidable) the usurper who had too much is consigned to hopeless torment. And the poor man denied his rights and his dignity and his inheritance goes to the bosom of Abraham. No one in Jesus' audience needed to be told that Abraham is the father of the land promise, the source of land inheritance, the clue to God's promise of *safety, productivity and enjoyment* which sooner or later will be given to all his heirs.

So much of biblical faith is a struggle between the usurpers and the heirs. The usurpers seem to have all the land and control of all the entire social apparatus. The heirs, frequently denied their inheritance, cling finally to the poetic vision, hoping and trusting that the vision will become concrete.

Jesus and the community of Jesus insert themselves into that uneven struggle between usurper and heir, between social reality and poetic vision. It is an uneven struggle. But the promise, we believe, will override. There will be an "overcoming...someday."

In the meantime, all of us together and each of us personally participates in the incongruity. We are often cast both as heir and as usurper. As usurpers, we may be frightened about the power of the Gospel. As heirs denied, it is the Gospel that lets us hope and trust the vision. □

Never have we,
not for a day,
beheld before us
that pure space
the flowers
unendlessly open upon.

— Rilke



AGRICULTURE'S VANISHING HERITAGE

BY CARY FOWLER

Agricultural Roots

Agriculture is but a brief chapter in the sweep of human history. Only about 6 percent of all the people who have lived on earth during the last 2,000,000 years have supported themselves through agriculture. Most were hunters and gatherers. Agriculture — the tilling of the soil, planting and harvesting — has existed for just 10-20,000 years at most.

It is believed that agriculture began independently in Southwest and East Asia, Mesoamerica and probably South America and Africa in prehistoric times and gradually spread to other lands. The different grains and vegetables as we know them did not exist, for their present form is the result of thousands of years of evolution and domestication. Cereal grains, for example, were developed out of what you and I would probably call weeds. In fact, crabgrass, that scourge of every suburbanite, was one "grain" crop employed by humankind until rather recently. The primitive plant ancestors of the corn we know had but three or four kernels. And big, bright red tomatoes simply did not exist.

The conscious planting and harvesting of plants for food over wide geographic areas helped create enormous natural genetic diversity in crops. Seeds of plants that had successfully survived the growing season were saved to be replanted the following year, thereby perpetuating their own characteristics. Thus, countless genetically distinct varieties of each crop developed in response to different ecological conditions and human needs. Natural defenses evolved to withstand the different pests and diseases encountered in each locality.

Though thousands of crops have been used throughout history, over 90 percent of human nutrition comes from fewer than twenty today. Each of these crops has many varieties, as genetically distinct as Beagles are from Great Danes. This wealth of diversity protects the crop (and humankind) by providing the raw material with which modern plant breeders develop new crops. Without this diversity our food crops would quickly succumb to diseases. Crops now grown over millions of acres would become extinct. Chemical pesticides could not protect us against such a genetically uniform crop system.

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The list of disasters caused by over-dependence on genetically uniform crops is sobering: the Irish potato famine of the 1840's which resulted in two million deaths; the Bengal famine of 1943 associated with a rice disease; and the southern U.S. corn blight of 1970-1971 which reduced yields by one-half in some states. These are but a few graphic examples.

Extinction is Forever

Despite humankind's direct dependence on the genetic wealth developed over the 20,000 year history of agriculture by our ancestors, we seem much more aware of the threat to whales, whooping cranes and condors than to wheat varieties in Afghanistan. It is understandable that such magnificent creatures capture our sympathies so easily. Wheat dies quietly. Yet, with the extinction of wheat varieties, we tamper with the survival of our own progeny.

During the period when the dinosaurs were quickly dying off, about one animal or plant species became extinct every 1,000 years. From 1600-1900 A.D., one species of animals or plants disappeared every four years. Now, perhaps 1,000 species become extinct every year. During the next 25 years it is possible that as many as 100 species will become extinct every day.

Modern agriculture has accelerated the pace at which traditional varieties of food crops are lost. Varieties developed, preserved and esteemed by different cultures for thousands of years can be driven out of existence overnight by the introduction of a

new, modern variety whose success or failure may someday prove to be dependent on the old variety it replaced.

In Iraq, old wheat varieties have fallen at the hands of imported varieties developed in Mexico. New Spanish-bred chickpeas are replacing traditional types in Turkey. The vast resources of sugar beets in Turkey are being depleted by imports of "Detroit Globe" seed from Europe and North America. In Europe heirloom cabbages are threatened by modern hybrids and by laws prohibiting old varieties. The U.N. estimates that three-quarters of all vegetable varieties now grown in Europe will be extinct in ten years. In the U.S., the 2,600 distinct pear varieties grown during the 19th century have now dwindled down to a mere handful. Few of us could name five varieties grown today.

New wheats and rices have spread over Asia and the Near East with remarkable speed. New rice varieties came to occupy over 70 million acres in Asia in less than a decade. In Turkey, many priceless relatives of cereal grains are now found only in graveyards and castle ruins. U.N. scientists now estimate that the center of genetic diversity for many of our grains found in the Near East will simply disappear before the turn of the century.

Many if not most of these genetic losses are occurring due to the replacement of old varieties with new ones. International trade in seeds—the sale of seeds developed in North America and Europe to peasant farmers using old varieties—is the biggest factor behind the problem. Seed patenting laws, billed by proponents as an incentive to increase such international trade, will thus only make genetic erosion that much more rapid.

Other factors are also involved. Tropical forests, which contain the majority of the world's higher plant species (including relatives of many food crops,) are being decimated by agricultural expansion and reckless timbering. Overgrazing and the rise of water in Lake Nasser in Egypt are threatening a race of wild sorghum. And, in Afghanistan, drought, harvest failures, famine and fighting are contributing to the loss of Afghan wheats.

Those crops most valuable to mankind are most threatened. Wheat, rice, sorghum, millet and barley are considered most vulnerable due to the loss of genetic diversity. The U.N. has designated a number of other crops for priority collecting; these include some beans and peas, potatoes, cassava, bananas, sugar cane, cotton, coffee, cucurbits, a number of forage species and other crops.

The wholesale loss of these greatest of our natural resources undermines the very foundation of our agricultural system and is without precedent in human history. "Worthless" old varieties potentially capable of providing billions of dollars worth of natural resistance to diseases and pests become extinct every day with no fanfare.

Plant Patenting

In recent years international debate over plant patenting laws (also called plant breeders' rights) has alerted many to the crisis of genetic vulnerability and the irreplaceable loss of the world's plant genetic resources.

Plant patenting laws originated in Europe in the early 1960's. The United States implemented its version, the Plant Variety Protection Act, in 1970. These laws established a system whereby new varieties of seed-reproducing plants could be patented, giving the plant breeder exclusive control over marketing rights for a period up to 17 (later amended to 18) years.

The opportunity to obtain a legal monopoly on newly developed plant varieties proved irresistible to big business—and thus changed the complexion of the once-independent, family-owned seed industry. Since enactment of plant patenting laws, over 90 U.S. seed companies have become subsidiaries of a handful of multinational petrochemical corporations. Burpee Seeds is now owned by ITT. Northrup-King is owned by the Swiss firm Sandoz. Asgrow is a subsidiary of the Upjohn Corporation. Celanese, Ciba-Geigy, Occidental Petroleum and Purex have all recently acquired seed companies.

Plant patenting laws have been met with increasing opposition in many areas of the world. In the United States, efforts to expand coverage of plant patenting laws were vigorously debated for two years in Congress. Thousands of concerned citizens, church and environmental groups, farm organizations, scientists and academics publicly opposed expansion of U.S. plant patenting legislation. They argued that these laws encourage seed company takeovers, lead to higher seed prices, and contribute to the replacement and ultimate extinction of many traditional varieties. Although proposals to extend U.S. plant patenting laws were ultimately passed and signed into law by President Carter in December, 1980, opposition to plant patenting continues. Controversial proposals are now being debated in Canada and Australia.

The International Union for Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV) is a European-based organization which exists to promote and coordinate seed patenting laws worldwide. UPOV's model for plant patenting is based on an exclusive monopoly which enables the patent holder to collect royalties and set all conditions of sale. UPOV's standardized patent system facilitates international trade and will thus enable multinational seed corporations to break into new, lucrative markets all over the world with little fear of competition.

Plant patenting proposals based on the UPOV model are now under consideration in at least twenty-two Third World nations. Argentina, Chile and Mexico have already accepted some form of plant patenting laws. Since plant genetic diversity is greatest in the Third World, it is precisely these areas where seed patenting laws and the introduction of new varieties

pose the greatest danger. At a time when the merits of industrial patent rights are seriously questioned by Third World countries, these same governments would be well-advised to examine carefully the highly restrictive seed patenting systems promoted by UPOV.

Before accepting plant patenting proposals, Third World governments should consider an entire range of options. The "Inventor's Certificate," for example, is a patent system used in many countries which enables the patent owner to collect small royalties but denies exclusive monopolistic control. Alternative government policies such as tax provisions, loan programs and technical services can be used instead of patent laws to encourage public plant breeding programs.

Salvaging the Future

By and large the major crops of today originated in that part of the planet we now call the Third World. It is in these areas where genetic diversity is greatest that conservation efforts are most important. For some years now primitive crop varieties and wild relatives of modern crops have been collected and brought to industrialized countries for storage in seed banks. Over 90 percent of world seeds in collection are held in industrial states. No more than one or two Third World governments are presently entrusted with a "world base" (major food crop) collection.

Worldwide, conservation efforts are perennially crippled by anemic budgets. Expeditions to collect endangered wheat varieties in the Mideast are no one's priority. Seed repositories are poor competition for jet fighters in budget debates.

The U.N.-supported International Board for Plant Genetic Resources (IBPGR), the agency charged with coordinating the collection of crop genetic material and its storage in a system of some 60 seed banks, has an annual budget of only \$3 million. Collecting of some crops like rubber and cocoa will be left to

industry despite the fact that no international codes exist to guarantee access to such genetic material.

The core of the U.S. seed bank is the National Seed Storage Laboratory (NSSL) located on the campus of Colorado State University in Fort Collins. Unfortunately, the NSSL does not meet the IBPGR's standards for classification as a preferred "long-term" storage facility. For 15 years its dedicated staff and once modern facilities languished without any budget increase. Budget considerations hold its total staff below 25. Such is the limited commitment of the U.S. government to the collection of the vanishing resources upon which the future of agriculture rests. Without public support or political pressure, funding for national and international seed collection and preservation programs may never climb to adequate levels. However, we simply cannot allow short-term economic interests to take precedence over long-term survival.

Our common survival is vitally linked to agriculture's vanishing genetic resources. The severity of this little known and complex crisis highlights interdependence among all nations of the world. Adequate solutions will require international cooperation and goodwill. The most urgent task before us is immediate collection and preservation of seeds—before it is too late. At the same time, we can and must begin to draft a legal framework to protect the role of public plant breeding programs and assure all nations full and free access to crop genetic resources. The trend of seed company takeovers by multinational petrochemical corporations and the impact of plant patenting must be carefully monitored. If necessary, appropriate legislation to restrict these corporate activities (particularly in the Third World) should be implemented.

Our common task requires commitment and action from the personal to the governmental level, both nationally and internally. We cannot succeed alone, but together we can. Let us begin. □

Our common survival is vitally linked to agriculture's vanishing genetic resources. The severity of this little known and complex crisis highlights interdependence among all nations of the world... The most urgent task before us is immediate collection and preservation of seeds — before it is too late.



A FIRST AMERICAN VIEWS HIS LAND

BY N. SCOTT MOMADAY

*First Man
behold:
the earth
glitters
with leaves;
the sky
glistens
with rain.
Pollen
is borne
on winds
that low
and lean
upon
mountains.
Cedars
blacken
and slopes—
and pines.*

One hundred centuries ago. There is a wide, irregular landscape in what is now northern New Mexico. The sun is a dull white disk, low in the south; it is a perfect mystery, a deity whose coming and going are inexorable. The gray sky is curdled, and it bears very close upon the earth. A cold wind runs along the ground, dips and spins, making drift from a pond in the bottom of a ravine. Beyond the wind the silence is acute. A man crouches in the ravine, in the darkness there, scarcely visible. He moves not a muscle; only the wind lifts a lock of his hair and lays it back along his neck. He wears skins and carries a spear. These things in particular mark his human intelligence and distinguish him as the lord of the universe. And for him the universe is especially *this* landscape; for him the landscape is an element like the air. The vast virgin wilderness is by and large his whole context. For him there is no possibility of existence elsewhere.

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Directly there is a blowing, a rumble of breath deeper than the wind, above him; some of the hard clay of the bank is broken off and the clods roll down into the water. At the same time there appears on the skyline the massive head of a long-horned bison, then the hump, then the whole beast, huge and black on the sky, standing to a height of seven feet at the hump, with horns that extend six feet across the shaggy crown. For a moment it is poised there; then it lumbers obliquely down the bank to the pond. Still the man does not move, though the beast is now only a few steps upwind. There is no sign of what is about to happen; the beast meanders; the man is frozen in repose.

Then the scene explodes. In one and the same instant the man springs to his feet and bolts forward, his arm cocked and the spear held high, and the huge animal lunges in panic, bellowing, its whole weight thrown violently into the bank, its hooves churning and chipping earth into the air, its eyes gone wide and wild and white. There is a moment in which its awful, frenzied motion is wasted, and it is mired and helpless in its fear, and the man hurls the spear with his whole strength, and the point is

driven into the deep vital flesh, and the bison in its agony staggers and crashes down and dies.

This ancient drama of the hunt is enacted again and again in the landscape. Humans are pre-eminently predators, the most dangerous of all. They hunt in order to survive; their very existence is simply, squarely established upon that basis. But they hunt also because they can, because they have the means; they have the ultimate weapon of their age, and their prey is plentiful. Their relationship to the land has not yet become a moral equation.

But in time they will come to understand that there is an intimate, vital link between the earth and themselves, a link that implies an intricate network of rights and responsibilities. In some unimagined future they will understand that they have the ability to devastate and perhaps destroy their environment. That moment will be one of extreme crisis in their evolution.

The weapon is deadly and efficient. The hunter has taken great care in its manufacture, especially in the shaping of the flint point, which is an extraordinary thing. A larger flake has been removed from each face, a

groove that extends from the base nearly to the tip. Several hundred pounds of pressure, expertly applied, are required to make these grooves. The hunter, then, is an artisan, and he must know how to use rudimentary tools. His skill, manifest in the manufacture of this artifact, is unsurpassed for its time and purpose. By means of this weapon is the Paleo-Indian hunter eminently able to exploit his environment.

Thousands of years later, about the time that Columbus begins his first voyage to the New World, another man, in the region of the Great Lakes, stands in the forest shade on the edge of a sunlit brake. In a while a deer enters into the pool of light. The arrow zips across the distance and strikes home. The deer leaps and falls dead.

But these latter-day humans, unlike their ancient predecessors, are only incidentally hunters; they are also fishermen, husbandmen, even physicians. They fell trees and build canoes; they grow corn, squash, and beans; they gather fruits and nuts; they use hundreds of species of wild plants for food, medicine, teas, and dyes. Instead of one animal, or two or three, they hunt many, none to extinction (as the Paleo-Indians may have done). They have fitted themselves far more precisely into the patterns of the wilderness than did their ancient predecessors. They live on the land; they take their living from it; but they do not destroy it. This distinction supports the fundamental ethic that we call conservation today. In principle, if not yet in name, these humans are conservationists.

These two hunting sketches are far less important in themselves than is the long distance between them, the whole possibility within the dimension of time. I believe that in that interim there grew in the mind of humans an idea of the land as sacred.

*At dawn
eagles
lie and
hover
above
the plain
where light*

*gathers
in pools.
Grasses
shimmer
and shine.
Shadows
withdraw
and lie
away
like smoke.*

"The earth is our mother. The sky is our father." This concept of nature, which is at the center of the Native American world view, is familiar to us all, but it may well be that we do not understand entirely what that concept is in its ethical and philosophical implications.

I tell my students that the American Indian has a unique investment in the American landscape. It is an investment that represents perhaps thirty thousands years of habitation. That tenure has to be worth something in itself—a great deal, in fact. The Indians have been here a long time; they are at home here. That simple and obvious truth is one of the most important realities of the Indian world, and it is integral in the Indian mind and spirit.

How does such a concept evolve? Where does it begin? Perhaps it begins with the recognition of beauty, the realization that the physical world is beautiful. We don't know much about the ancient hunters' sensibilities. It isn't likely that they had leisure in their lives for the elaboration of an aesthetic ideal. And yet the weapons they made were beautiful as well as functional. It has been suggested that much of the minute chipping along the edges of their weapons served no purpose but that of aesthetic satisfaction.

A good deal more is known concerning these people of the central forests. They made beautiful boxes and dishes out of elm and birch bark, for example. Their canoes were marvelous, delicate works of art. And this aesthetic perception was a principle of the whole Indian world of their time, as indeed it is of our time. The contemporary Native Americans are men and women whose strong aesthetic perceptions are clearly

evident in their arts and crafts, in their religious ceremonies, and in the stories and songs of their rich oral tradition. This, in view of the pressures that have been brought to bear upon the Indian world and the drastic changes that have been effected in its landscape, is a blessing and an irony.

Consider, for example, the Navajos of the Four Corners area of the Southwest. In recent years an extensive coal-mining operation has mutilated some of their most sacred land. A larger power plant in that same region spews a contamination into the sky that is visible for many miles. And yet, as much as any people of whom I have heard, the Navajos perceive and celebrate the beauty of the physical world.

There is a Navajo ceremonial song that celebrates the sounds that are made in the natural world, the particular voices that beautify the earth:

*Voice above,
Voice of thunder,
Speak from the
dark of clouds;
Voice below,
Grasshopper voice,
Speak from the
green of plants;
So may the earth
be beautiful.*

There is in the motion and meaning of this song a comprehension of the world that is peculiarly native, I believe, that is integral in the Native American mentality. Consider: the singers stand at the center of the natural world, at the source of its sound, of its motion, of its life. Nothing of that world is inaccessible to them or lost upon them. Their songs are filled with reverence, with wonder and delight, and with confidence as well. Such singers know something about themselves and about the things around them and know that they know. I am interested in what they see and hear; I am interested in the range and force of their perceptions. Our immediate impression may be that their perception is narrow and deep—vertical. After all, "voice above . . .

voice below," they sing. But is it vertical only? At each level of their expression there is an extension of their awareness across the whole landscape. The voice above is the voice of thunder, and thunder rolls. Moreover, it issues from the impalpable dark clouds and runs upon their horizontal range. It is a sound that integrates the whole of the atmosphere. And, even so, the voice below, that of the grasshopper, issues from the broad plains and multiplicity of plants. And, of course, the singers are mindful of much more than thunder and insects; we are given in their songs the wide angle of their vision and their hearing — and we are given the testimony of their dignity, their trust, and their deep belief.

This comprehension of the earth and the air is surely a matter of morality, for it brings into account not only an instinctive reaction to the environment but also the full realization of humanity as well, the achievement of intellectual and spiritual development as an individual and as a race.

In my own experience I have seen numerous examples of this regard for nature. My grandfather Mammedaty was a farmer in his mature years; his grandfather was a buffalo hunter. It was not easy for Mammedaty to be a farmer: he was a Kiowa, and the Kiowas never had an agrarian tradition. Yet, he had to make his living, and the old, beloved life of roaming the plains and hunting the buffalo was gone forever. Even so, as much as any person before him, he fitted his mind and will and spirit to the land; there was nothing else. He could not have conceived a living apart from the land.

In *The Way to Rainy Mountain* I set down a small narrative that belongs to the oral tradition of my family. It indicates something essential about the Native American attitude toward the land:

"East of my grandmother's house, south of the pecan grove, there is buried a woman in a beautiful dress. Mammedaty used to know where she is buried, but now no one knows. If you stand on the front porch of the house and

*look eastward towards Carnegie, you know that the woman is buried somewhere within the range of your vision. But her grave is unmarked. She was buried in a cabinet, and she wore a beautiful dress. How beautiful it was! It was one of those fine buckskin dresses, and it was decorated with elk's teeth and beadwork. That dress is still there, under the ground."**

It seems to me that this statement is primarily a declaration of love for the land, in which the several elements — the woman, the dress, and this plain — are at last become one reality, one expression of the beautiful in nature. Moreover, it seems to me a peculiarly Native American expression in this sense: that the concentration of things are explicitly remembered — the general landscape, the simple, almost abstract nature of the burial, above all the beautiful dress, which is wholly singular in kind (as well as in its function within the narrative) — is especially Indian in character. The things that are *not* explicitly remembered — the woman's name, the exact location of her grave — are the things that matter least in the special view of the storyteller. What matters here is the translation of the woman into the landscape, a translation particularly signified by means of the beautiful and distinctive dress, an *Indian* dress.

When I was a boy, I lived for several years at Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians are perhaps more obviously invested in the land than are other people. Their whole life is predicated upon a thorough perception of the physical world and its myriad aspects. When I first went there to live, the *cacique*, or chief, of the Pueblos was a venerable old man with long, gray hair and bright, deep-set eyes. He was entirely dignified and imposing — and rather formidable in the eyes of a boy. He excited my imagination a good deal. I was told that this old man kept the calendar of the tribe, that each morning he stood on a certain spot of

ground near the center of the town and watched to see where the sun appeared on the skyline. By means of this solar calendar did he know and perform this or that ceremony. This image of him in my mind's eye — the old man gazing each morning after the ranging sun — came to represent for me the epitome of that real harmony between humans and the land that signifies the Indian world.

One day when I was riding my horse along the Jemez River, I looked up to see a long caravan of wagons and people on horseback and on foot. Men, women, and children were crossing the river ahead of me, moving out to the west, where most of the cultivated fields were, the farmland of the town. It was a wonderful sight to see, this long procession, and I was immediately deeply curious. I wanted to investigate, but it was not in me to do so at once, for that racial reserve, that sense of propriety that is deep-seated in Native American culture, stayed me, held me up. Then I saw someone coming toward me on horseback, galloping. It was a friend of mine, a boy of my own age. "Come on," he said. "Come with us." "Where are you going?" I asked casually. But he would not tell me. He simply laughed and urged me to come along, and of course I was very glad to do so. It was a bright spring morning, and I had a good horse under me, and the prospect of adventure was delicious. We moved far out across the eroded plain to the farther fields at the foot of a great red mesa, and there we planted two large fields of corn. And afterward, on the edge of the fields, we sat on blankets and ate a feast in the shade of a cottonwood grove. Later I learned it was the *cacique's* fields, and in the winter the hunters give to him a portion of the meat that they bring home from the mountains. It is as if the *cacique* is himself the translation of the human, every person, into the landscape.

I have not forgotten that day, nor shall I forget it. I remember the warm earth of the fields, the smooth texture of seeds in my hands, and the brown water moving slowly and irresistibly among the rows. Above all I

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remember the spirit in which the procession was made, the work was done, and the feasting was enjoyed. It was a spirit of communion, of the life of each person in relation to the life of the planet and of the infinite distance and silence in which it moves. We made, in concert, an appropriate expression of that spirit.

*the warm
dark loam.
Bees hold
the swarm.
Meadows
recede
through planes
of heat
and pure
distance.*

One afternoon an old Kiowa woman talked to me, telling me of the place in Oklahoma in which she had lived for a hundred years. It was the place in which my grandparents, too, lived; and it is the place where I was born. And she told me of a time, even further back, when the Kiowas came down from the north and centered their culture in the red earth of the southern plains. She told wonderful stories, and, as I listened, I began to feel more and more sure that her voice emanated from the land itself. I asked her many things concerning the Kiowas, for I wanted to understand all that I could of my heritage. I told the old woman that I had come there to learn from her and from people like her, those in whom the old ways were preserved. And she said simply: "It is good that you have come here." I believe that her word "good" meant many things; for one thing, it meant *right*, or *appropriate*. And indeed it was appropriate she should speak of the land. She was eminently qualified to do so. She had a great reverence for the land, and an ancient perception of it, a perception that is acquired only in the course of many generations.

It is this notion of the appropriate, along with that of the beautiful, that forms the Native American perspective of the land. In a sense, these considerations are indivisible; Native American oral tradition is rich with songs and tales that celebrate natural beauty, the beauty of the natural world. What is more appropriate to our world than that which is beautiful?

*At noon
turtles
enter
slowly
into*

Very old in the Native American world view is the conviction that the earth is vital, that there is a spiritual dimension to it, a dimension in which the human rightly exists. It follows logically that there are ethical imperatives in this matter. I think: inasmuch as I am in the land, it is appropriate that I should affirm myself in the spirit of the land. I shall celebrate life in the world and the world in my life. In the natural order humans invest themselves in the landscape and at the same time incorporate the landscape into their most fundamental experience. This trust is sacred.

The process of investment and appropriation is, I believe, pre-eminently a function of the imagination. It is accomplished by means of an act of the imagination that is especially ethical in kind. We are what we imagine ourselves to be. The Native Americans are people who think of themselves, imagine themselves, in a particular way. By virtue of their experience, their idea of themselves encompasses their relationship to the land.

The quality of this imagining is determined as well by racial and cultural experience. The Native Americans' attitudes toward this landscape have been formulated over a long period of time, a span that reaches back to the end of the Ice Age. The land, *this* land, is secure in racial memory.

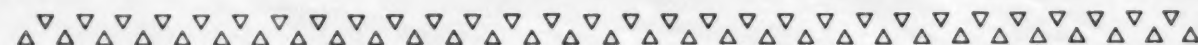
In our society, as a whole, we conceive of the land in terms of ownership and use. It is a lifeless medium of exchange; it has for most of us, I suspect, no more spirituality than has an automobile, say, or a re-

frigerator. And our laws confirm us in this view, for we can buy and sell the land, we can exclude each other from it, and in the context of ownership we can use it as we will. Ownership implies use, and use implies consumption.

But this way of thinking of the land is alien to Indians. Their cultural intelligence is opposed to these concepts; indeed, for them these are all inconceivable quantities. This fundamental distinction is easier to understand with respect to ownership than to use, perhaps. For, obviously, the Indians do use, and have always used, the land and the available resources in it. The point is that *use* does not indicate in any real way their idea of the land. "Use" is neither their word nor their idea. As an Indian I think: "You say that I *use* the land, and I reply, yes, it is true; but it is not the first truth. The first truth is that I *love* the land; I see that it is beautiful; I delight in it; I am alive in it."

In the long course of their journey from Asia and in the realization of themselves in the New World, Indians have assumed a deep ethical regard for the earth and sky, a reverence for the natural world that is antipodal to that strange tenet of modern civilization that seemingly has it that humans must destroy their environment. It is this ancient ethic of the Native American that must shape our efforts to preserve the earth and the life upon and within it.

*At dusk
the gray
foxes
stiffen
in cold;
blackbirds
are fixed
in white
branches.
Rivers
follow
the moon,
the long
white track
of the
full moon. □*



THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST: An Alternative

BY ROBERT SWANN

While the Community Land Trust as an organization is an innovative concept in relation to recent conventional patterns of land holding in the United States, it has its roots deep in the tradition of the early settlers in New England who brought the practice of the "commons" with them from England. The Community Land Trust is not merely a method of holding land in common; it is rather a means for holding land by the community for the "common good." In our present world, this means holding land not only to protect it from overdevelopment on the one hand but also to ensure both that the best land is preserved for farmland and that ecologically sensitive areas (such as hillsides subject to erosion) are not disturbed in the process of development.

In this sense, the Community Land Trust (CLT) is closely related in concept to non-profit land-holding organizations like conservation trusts. Other examples in New England are the Trustees of Reservations in Massachusetts, Maine Coast Heritage Trust, Lake Champlain Islands Trust and the Berkshire Conservation Trust.

Unlike many private organizations which hold land for use in common, the CLT is open to anyone in the surrounding community and does not have individual memberships which can be bought and sold. By such provision, the CLT aims for a public or quasi-public status in order to avoid control of those using the land and the tendency to revert to individual ownership.

ROBERT SWANN is one of the organizers of the Community Land Trust in the Southern Berkshires in Massachusetts. The former director of the Institute for Community Economics, he resides on Trust land in Egremont, Massachusetts.

Moreover, land held by a CLT is not necessarily contiguous nor limited in the total acreage held. One CLT in Vermont, for example, holds 400 acres of land in several tracts, none of which is contiguous.

The CLT has a purpose which goes beyond simple preservation of land. It recognizes that human beings are ultimately a part of the total ecological reality and that in order to reach ecologically sound goals, we must also support economically sound objectives. For this reason the CLT encourages an approach to land use planning which includes a mixture of housing and farmland in ways that are mutually compatible and supportable.

In general, this means planning tracts of land in such a way that the houses do not intrude, or minimally intrude, on the open space farmland or forest. Just as important, however, from an economic viewpoint, the CLT recognizes that in order for farmers, young farmers in particular, to gain access to land for farming, the land must be made available to them, at comparatively low cost relative to the cost of land for development. In addition, they must also have long-term security on the land.

Without such long-term security, farmers are not encouraged to build up the soil in ways that prevent erosion and protect the land for future generations. Recent studies by the Conservation Foundation in Washington, D.C. have demonstrated that the dangerous increase in soil erosion throughout the U.S. can, in part at least, be attributed to the increase in short-term tenant farming.

In its approach to planning for land presently owned in South Egremont, the Community Land Trust in the Southern Berkshires hopes to demonstrate how these dual environmental and social objectives can be realized on a specific tract of land. While paying a fair market price for the land, the Community Land

Trust's plans call for ultimate densities of approximately 5 acres of land per household on the entire 100-acre tract it intends to purchase (currently only 10 acres are owned by the Community Land Trust). Within the limitations of current zoning regulations, it intends to site these houses in such a way as to minimally intrude on the best farm and forest land.

Similar kinds of planning where farmland and housing form an integrated pattern are being tried in different parts of the country. Some of these efforts are organized as CLTs. One such mixed planned development is in Greene County, Virginia, on a tract of 300 acres called Farm Colony. One hundred and fifty acres are being retained as farmland for growing crops and raising cattle, while a 40-acre segment is a wooded preserve. Forty-eight homesites will occupy the remainder of the land with an overall density of about six acres per homesite.

Near Uniontown, Pennsylvania there is another example known as the New Village project sponsored by the Institute for Man and Science in Rensselaerville, New York. This project, now under construction, calls for all housing to be located on 78 acres, leaving another 100 acres completely intact for open space and farming. In addition, the plan "takes advantage of natural terrain to provide solar access to each lot and to use natural drainage paths for water."

Yet another example of this type of rural planning is a project proposed for a 300-acre site in Frankford Township, New Jersey, a rolling area of farms and forest. If a standard subdivision layout were used, each of the houses would be placed on a 3-acre lot, making agricultural use impossible and giving the land an intensely developed look.

But, according to the proposal, all of the residential units would be constructed in clusters of four to eight



In allowing one man to own land on which other men must live, we turn the blessings of material progress into a curse.

— Henry George, 1897

houses utilizing only about one half of the total acreage and leaving the other half to be leased to farmers, subject to a deed restriction prohibiting development. Other wooded portions of the site would be open to residents for common recreational use.

In the above examples, as in the case of the CLT in the Southern Berkshires, the cost of the land itself would be primarily carried by the house lots. In this way the remainder of the land can be offered to farmers — at a price which they can afford to pay.

The method, common to all CLTs in the country, by which both the farmland, as well as the housesites, are offered to users is through a long-term lease (99 years) which is both automatically renewable and inheritable.

The user pays the trust a regular monthly rental for the land and the trust in turn pays the taxes as well as the cost of the land purchased from the income. Properly managed and financed, the income from such rentals is generally sufficient to create a revolving loan fund for the purchase of additional land. The trust, in return for helping users gain access to land, imposes lease conditions that prevent the user from building more than necessary structures, or farming it in ways that might damage the soil.

The users, however, become owners of any buildings or other improvements which they place on the land, but they are not permitted to

sell or sublease the land itself, which remains permanently owned by the trust. This concept of separating the ownership of the land from the ownership of improvements, while fundamental to the purpose and objectives of the CLT, is at once strange to many people accustomed to viewing "property" as a combination of both land and buildings. It is somewhat foreign to our legal conventions which, until recently, at least, have not separated the "development rights" from the bundle of rights which are included under "fee simple" title.

Today, however, there is both a proliferation of buildings built on leased land in urban areas, and a growing recognition of "development rights" as a separate right (similar to mineral rights, easement rights and water rights). Holding the "development rights" while the user retains the "usership rights" is not as difficult to put forward as it once was.

Bankers are occasionally perplexed as to how to place a mortgage on a building which rests on leased land. Furthermore, Farmers Home Administration, which has been giving mortgages for many years to families owning homes on land leased from tribal reservations, has been itself reluctant to make loans on leased land elsewhere in the country. Recently, however, the FHA has done so, setting a precedent.

One cannot, therefore, blame local bankers who have not had any

experience with such a practice. However, in those places where the experience has been acquired, bankers have discovered that not only is it possible but actually advantageous and more secure than the usual mortgage loan. In the town of Southampton, Pennsylvania (now a suburb of Philadelphia), the local banks began making such mortgages back in the 1930s to a local Community Land Trust which eventually developed into a group of 80 house owners on some 200 acres of land. Members of this CLT have found the local banks not only willing to give mortgages but eager to offer them at the most favorable rates.

In the long run, the Community Land Trust concept could provide an alternative to the zoning concept, which is an urban invention and does not adapt well to the needs of rural communities. Looked at from this viewpoint, the Community Land Trust can be seen as an innovative tool for planning.

The CLT depends for success upon the voluntary initiative of its members to give it positive support. Members of the Community Land Trust, through their voluntary effort, are helping to provide not only for themselves, but for the community as a whole. They are looking towards the future when open space in land will be seen as not merely a rural amenity but also a necessity for producing locally grown food no longer available from California, Texas or Florida. □

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE LAND

NGO Conference Excerpts



Editor's note:

In September 1981, an International Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land was held in Geneva, Switzerland. According to the Conference Statement,

More than 300 representatives of indigenous nations and groups and of international and national organizations attended.

One hundred and thirty indigenous representatives came to Geneva from different parts of the world to call the attention of the international community to the desperate conditions in which they live and to their struggle to survive as nations and communities.

The root of this crisis is the denial of the right to their land.

For copies of the full Conference Statement and the reports of other Commissions, address inquiries to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, (WILPF), 1, rue de Varembe, 1211 Geneve 20, Switzerland. Refer specifically to the International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land.

The Impact of the Nuclear Arms Build-Up on the Land and Life of Indigenous Peoples. Report of Commission Four.

Introduction

The Commission considered the present reckless nuclear arms race to be one of the most crucial and relevant issues of our time. After a careful analysis and examination of the critically affected situations around the world, the Commission was even more persuaded that ultimately, the struggle of the indigenous peoples for disarmament, land rights and self-determination contributes to the welfare not only of the indigenous peoples themselves but also of the whole human family. By the same token the Commission underlined that all world-wide efforts against the nuclear arms build-up will benefit the struggles of the indigenous movements. As an example of this interrelationship, it was pointed out that the promotion of the right to self-determination and land rights for indigenous peoples would involve struggles against nuclear development and the operations of the transnational corporations.

The Commission wishes to emphasize that the escalating arms race taking place on the land and waters of the indigenous peoples, constitutes and represents a continued physical and cultural genocide and must be

condemned as blatant racism. The "oneness" of the land, the sanctity and indivisible harmony between human life and "Mother Earth," once destroyed by the so-called frontier pioneers, followed by greedy commercial, industrial and military exploitation, is now in real danger of an irreversible destruction posed by the suicidal arms race. The Commission therefore draws attention to the need for a responsible stewardship of all the earth's resources in order to ensure that future generations can enjoy the beauty and fruits of planet earth.

The Commission views with grave concern that nuclear powers are vying for strategic positions throughout the world at the expense of indigenous peoples' basic human rights. This alarming trend has created an estate of terror and a psychosis of fear among humankind. For example, currently throughout the South Pacific, indigenous peoples' lands have been taken and, in some cases, the people have been killed and displaced from their territory in order to facilitate the world military operations of the Western Alliance. In other parts of the world, indigenous lands are being taken without the consent of the traditional owners merely to acquire the massive mineral resources to supply the military-industrial complex and at the same time to maximize their profit margins. The Commission denounces categorically these actions of the nuclear powers and the transnational corporations which have always suppressed the interests of the indigenous peoples' right to self-determination. Finally, the Commission considers it essential to pay particular attention to the interrelationship between the civil use of nuclear technology and its military application, as well as to the relationship between the nuclear fuel cycle and the nuclear arms build-up.

Issues

The self-determination of all indigenous peoples is a pre-requisite for the successful struggle for disarmament and is necessary in order for them to control their own land resources.

There has not been nor ever will be adequate compensation for the land taken by governments and transnational corporations as testing sites and weapons storage facilities, and this illegal usurpation of indigenous land has among other things led to the death and displacement of indigenous populations.

There has been a devastation of nature, and of the food and water resources of inhabitants and their livestock, which has been caused by the indiscriminate and greedy exploitation of mineral resources by the military-industrial complex.

The presence of military bases on or near indigenous peoples' land has also caused many well-documented ill effects on the integrity of their communities.

There is evidence of the use of nuclear terror against indigenous peoples, suggesting a relationship between the use and development of nuclear energy and weapons and blatant racism, colonization and discrimination. This "terror" can be illustrated, for instance, in the establishment of experimental nuclear health centres for indigenous populations.

There is a serious lack of legal protection and of legal recourse, whether national or international, for indigenous peoples against nuclear development and the disposal of nuclear waste. This raises fundamental questions regarding the ethical basis upon which legislations are enacted.

Nuclear testing on the land of indigenous peoples by developing countries, done in collaboration with existing nuclear powers, has very serious implications both for the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the survival and livelihood of indigenous peoples.

Therefore there is an urgent need for national security doctrines to be examined especially with regard to nuclear development. The objectives of political gain, national prestige, and arms superiority so far seem to carry more weight than the protection of the people who originally inhabited the land and will continue to do so in future generations.

The proposal for a nuclear free zone in both the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean cannot be achieved without the elimination of nuclear testing, weapons delivery systems, passage of nuclear warships and submarines, transport and dumping of nuclear waste, establishment of military bases and communication systems, and the militarization of societies.

Action Proposals

That the conference:

Encourage the business community to engage in examinations of the consequences of their policies and operations for peace, disarmament and human rights of indigenous peoples.

Promote regular fact-finding missions composed of representatives from indigenous groups and from the business, medical and scientific communities, to the indigenous peoples and their lands most affected by the nuclear development, and to disseminate the information as widely as possible.

Conscientize through information and films all peace and disarmament groups regarding the interrelationship between their struggles and those of the indigenous peoples.

Urge the international community including governments to obtain as complete a picture as possible of the impact on indigenous peoples and their land resulting from the policies and practices of all states, especially nuclear weapon states, related to all facets of nuclear development.

In view of the importance of the Second Special Session on Disarmament, encourage indigenous groups to establish contact and dialogue with the United Nations Disarmament Center. Address:

UN Center for
Disarmament
United Nations
New York 10017, USA

UN Center for
Disarmament
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Urge immediate and world-wide moratorium on nuclear testing, uranium mining and milling, and waste disposal.

Recommend that immediate and appropriate measures be taken by the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization to seek a dialogue with the UN Security Council regarding the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry which would make on-site investigations of those areas for which there has been expressed concern. This Commission of Inquiry should include indigenous people.

Promote official UN status for the indigenous peoples in order that the grave consequences of the arms race on their life and their land be heard in a major international and intergovernmental forum.

Voice its support to all anti-nuclear and peace groups, and encourage them to enter into a fruitful collaboration with indigenous peoples.

Urge that non-renewable energy sources be preserved for future generations until such a time when the full implications of their misuse are understood and that alternative renewable energy sources be carefully developed for peaceful purposes only.

Promote adequate legal provisions for the protection of indigenous peoples' lands against nuclear development and nuclear waste disposal. It is understood that these provisions cannot substitute the inalienable right of the indigenous peoples to self-determination and sovereignty over their own land.

Urge the formation of a judiciary body composed of representatives of those most directly affected by nuclear energy development with a view to present their grievances to those transnational corporations involved and to seek measures to hold them accountable for their policies and actions.

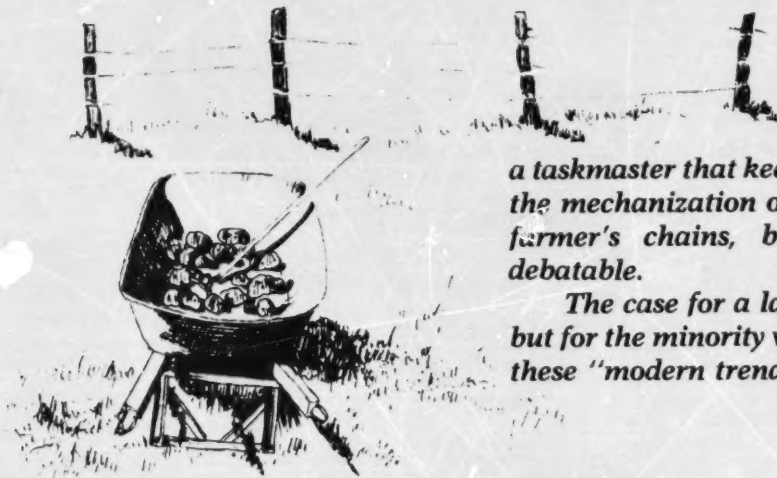
Urge the immediate halt of plans for the manufacture and deployment of the MX missile systems on the Western Shoshone Lands of Nevada where Shoshone ownership is still in effect and discourage its deployment on any other land, water or air base.

Urge all participants to promote and implement through all appropriate means the Program of Action of this Conference and to draw to the attention of the broadest public possible, including governmental bodies, the findings of the Final Document.

In closing, we want to acknowledge the claim of the Indigenous Peoples as caretakers of their lands and to clarify that we propose these actions in order to safeguard the integrity of the land, the indigenous communities, and the health and survival of all future generations of humanity. □

BEST COPY AVAILABLE RECOMMENDATIONS ON ORGANIC FARMING

From the USDA Report



...serious as an obstacle to a land ethic, is the attitude of the farmer for whom the land is still an adversary, or

a taskmaster that keeps him in slavery. Theoretically, the mechanization of farming ought to have cut the farmer's chains, but whether it really does is debatable.

The case for a land ethic would appear hopeless but for the minority which is in obvious revolt against these "modern trends."

— Aldo Leopold

Editor's note: In July 1980, the Study Team on Organic Farming of the United States Department of Agriculture published its Report and Recommendations on Organic Farming. Already one of the most popular publications ever produced by the USDA, the study recognizes, legitimizes and encourages alternative farming systems. The full report may be requested from the USDA and through County Extension Service offices. The points given below are the specific recommendations for action designed to expand and extend the practices of organic farming.

Recommendations of The USDA Team

- Investigate organic farming systems using a holistic approach.
- Determine the factors responsible for decreased crop yields during the transition from conventional to organic farming systems.
- Determine the long-term effects on the productivity of selected soils from recommended applications on chemical fertilizers and pesticides in conventional farming systems.
- Develop efficient and safe methods for utilization of municipal wastes, especially sewage sludge, as a source of plant nutrients and to improve soil productivity.

- Develop methods for more efficient recycling of nutrients in organic wastes for crop production.
- Determine the availability of phosphorous from rock phosphate and potassium from low solubility sources when applied to soils that are farmed organically.
- Develop refined soil test recommendations for nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium based on crop, soil type, and associated climatic effects.
- Develop new and improved techniques for control of weeds, insects, and plant diseases using biological nonchemical methods.
- Develop through breeding programs crop varieties that are adaptable to organic farming systems.
- Expand research on biological nitrogen fixation.
- Determine the effectiveness of organic wastes for improving the efficiency of chemical fertilizers.
- Conduct research on the potential impact of organic farming on the economic viability of small farms.
- Develop procedures to reduce use of antibiotics and chemicals in treatment of mastitis in cattle.
- Conduct research to investigate the health safety of food products

exposed to, and possibly contaminated with, residues of pesticides and other synthetic chemicals in chemical-intensive farming.

- Conduct farm management studies to help individual organic farmers increase their incomes, and develop simulation or other type models to assess the aggregate socioeconomic impact of various combinations of conventional and organic agriculture.

Recommended Education Programs

- Establish courses at land-grant universities on studies of self-sustaining unit systems of farming.

Extension Programs

- Develop information materials for county Extension agents to assist them in providing services needed by organic farmers.
- Foster the development of direct marketing of organically produced foods.

Recommendations on Organization and Policy Matters

- USDA should establish a permanent organic resources coordinator and multidisciplinary advisory committee on organic agriculture. □

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STRANGERS AND GUESTS: Towards Community In The Heartland (excerpts)

Banner's note: An example of collective response to land issues is the work of the farmers and bishops in the heartland region of the United States. Concerned with new patterns of land tenure, especially the concentration of land ownership in fewer hands, a group of South Dakota farmers urged that the bishops address these questions from a moral perspective. Over four hundred hearings were held in twelve states, and almost twelve thousand participants contributed to the process. The excerpts below reflect the breadth and depth of the inquiry, and a clear awareness of global interrelationships.

For a complete copy of Strangers and Guests: Toward Community in the Heartland, and for further information about the continuing programs generated by this project, contact the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 4625 N.W. Banner Drive, Des Moines, Iowa, 50322.

Our reflections on our situation and our tradition have led us to speak out, not only for ourselves but also and especially for those who have no voice, for those who have suffered most from changes in the rural scene: family farmers, farmworkers, Native Americans and the world's hungry. We have heard their cries of anger and pain. We have heard them plead for justice. We wish to respond to that plea. We realize that the first social priority of the church is to be concerned about the most downtrodden members of society, those with whom Jesus identified himself in Matthew's Gospel:

*I was hungry and you gave me food,
I was thirsty and you gave me drink.
I was away from home and you gave me
welcome,
Naked and you gave me clothing.
I was ill and in prison and you came to comfort
me...
I assure you, as often as you did it to one of
these least ones,
You did it to me. (Matthew 25:35-6, 40)*

We wish not only to fulfill this mandate of the Lord, but also to help empower people to control their own destiny, to be no longer powerless but rather participants in the creation of a new society based on justice. (§ 3)

The land is living and helps provide life for all creatures. When it is abused, the land and all creatures dependent on it suffer. Abuse of the land is therefore abuse of people, abuse of God's creation and abuse of the responsibility of stewardship. On the other hand, conservation of the land promotes its vitality, assures a harmonious relationship between people and the natural environment and fosters the well-being of all creatures.

The idea that the land was entrusted to us by God as our common inheritance, for which we must be stewards, is perhaps most clearly outlined in the twenty-fifth chapter

of the Book of Leviticus. When the Jewish people finally arrived at their new homeland, and apportioned the land among themselves, God described for them what their attitude should be toward the land as property:

*Land must not be sold in perpetuity,
for the land belongs to me
And to me you are only strangers and guests.
(Leviticus 25:23)*

The people were not to regard the land as something to be possessed for the exclusive benefit or control of individual owners: the land was a community benefit. The people were to regard themselves as "strangers and guests" upon the land. They were to avoid the practice of perpetual proprietorship, which would change the land from a community benefit to a private preserve. (§ 76)

Land consolidation and speculation have been promoted through the capital gains and investment credit provisions of the tax laws. We propose that the favorable treatment which tax laws give to income from capital gains be eliminated, since that favoritism works to the advantage of wealthy investors and land speculators and to the disadvantage of small and low income farm families. In the area of taxation, we also urge that agricultural land be taxed according to its productive value rather than according to its speculative value. When any of these changes in taxation are made, the needs of family farmers, of the poor and of those on fixed incomes must be considered. (§ 85)

Millions of the world's people are suffering from starvation or malnutrition as a result of global or domestic economic structures and a lack of agricultural resources. We endorse public policies which stabilize international food prices and, in the biblical tradition, provide for a reserve of food to meet the needs of the many when the harvest is poor. We advocate increased exports of food to meet the needs of the world's hungry, at prices that poor nations can afford or as outright grants where necessary, and without regard for political ideologies. We support the education of indigenous peoples — in cooperation with such international agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations — in agricultural practices appropriate to their climate, geography, energy resources, labor needs, food requirements and culture. We believe that although we are responsible for helping to feed the world because of its people's current extreme poverty, we must also help people to develop economic self-sufficiency and, where possible, agricultural self-sufficiency in the long term. The latter might be promoted through such means as development of land and human resources, appropriate technology and the conversion of land dedicated to export cash crops to land dedicated to meeting domestic food needs. Finally, we forcefully affirm the principle that food should never be used as a weapon against any nation or people as a tool of oppression to starve them into submission. (§ 93) □

Notes for *Land and World Order* by John A. Radano

¹Henry George, "The Land for the People." Address delivered on July 11, 1889, and reprinted by The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 5 East 44th St. NY, NY 10017, p. 3.

²*The Global 2000 Report to the President: Entering the Twenty-First Century. A Report Prepared by the Council on Environmental Quality and the Department of State. Gerald O. Barney, Study Director. Three Volumes. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.*

In all that follows reference will be made only to volume 1. The report will hereafter be cited as "G2".

It is recognized that this document is not intended as a definitive study of the issues it deals with. But it is the most internally consistent set of global projections available so far from the U.S. Government. (see p. 8)

³*North-South: A Program For Survival. The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1980.*

This report will be cited hereafter as "NS."

⁴E. Robert Scrofani, Response to the Global 2000 Report. *Future Watch*, October 25, 1980, p. 1.

⁵G2, p. 32.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.* pp. 1, 3. Cf. NS, pp. 105-106.

⁸*Ibid.* p. 3.

⁹*Ibid.* p. 9.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 33.

¹¹*Ibid.* p. 39.

¹²*Ibid.* p. 16.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.* p. 2.

¹⁵*Ibid.* pp. 16-17.

¹⁶*Ibid.* pp. 20-21.

¹⁷*Ibid.* p. 33.

¹⁸*Ibid.* pp. 2, 23.

¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 26.

²⁰NS, p. 20.

²¹*Ibid.* p. 83. Cf. G2, p. 26.

²²NS, p. 83.

²³G2, p. 36.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵NS, p. 20.

²⁶G2, pp. 32-33.

²⁷*Ibid.* p. 2.

²⁸*Ibid.* pp. 32-33.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.* p. 37.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.* p. 38.

³³*Ibid.* p. 27.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.* p. 42.

³⁶NS, pp. 80, 89, 97. Also, see tasks for the '80s and '90s, pp. 271 ff.

³⁷*Ibid.* p. 271.

³⁸*Ibid.* p. 93.

³⁹*Ibid.* pp. 94-95, 97.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* p. 95.

⁴¹Eric Eckholm, "The Dispossessed of the Earth: Land Reform and Sustainable Development." *World Watch Paper*, 1979.

⁴²For a lengthy description of this insight see Gerald and Patricia Mische, *Toward A Human World Order: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket*. New York: Paulist Press, 1977.

This threefold structure is not spelled out in G2 or NS.

⁴³NS, p. 117.

⁴⁴G2, pp. 3, 4.

⁴⁵NS, pp. 31, 80, 270, G2, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁶G2, p. 4.

⁴⁷*Ibid.* p. 42.

⁴⁸NS, p. 270.

⁴⁹*Ibid.* p. 268.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* p. 121.

⁵¹*Ibid.* p. 124.

⁵²*Ibid.* p. 125.

⁵³*Ibid.* p. 124.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.* pp. 268-269.

⁵⁶*Ibid.* p. 269.

⁵⁷*Ibid.* p. 268.

⁵⁸*Ibid.* p. 270.

Notes for *Who Owns the Earth?* by Mary Ann Smith

¹*Preserving Agricultural Land: Issues and Policy Alternatives* (Council for Agricultural Science and Technology Report No. 90, July, 1981), p. 3.

²Jack Nelson, "Hunger, Land-Use, and Responsible Stewardship." *Agrarian Reform Guide* (Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1979), p. 3.

³Guy Arnold, "New Directions for the 1980s," *Africa Report*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (May-June 1981), p. 59.

⁴Kuratu Masahiko (ed.), *Minangkabau!* (Kowloon, Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia-Urban Rural Mission, 1981), p. 45.

⁵*Ibid.* p. 48.

⁶*Ibid.* pp. 50-51.

⁷"Tourists Risk Death in Guatemala," *Green Revolution*, Vol. 37, No. 5 (Late Winter, September Issue, 1981), p. 47.

⁸Joe Collins and Frances Moore Lappe, "Food for Whom?" *Cuba Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1976), p. 4.

⁹*Ibid.* p. 4.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 6.

¹¹Allan Nairn, "The Reagan Connections: The Military, the Ultra-Right, and Big Money Keeping the Plantation Pacified," *Green Revolution*, Vol. 37, No. 5.

¹²David Abalos, Introduction to Jose Comblin's "National Security State in Latin America," *Securing the Human, Whole Earth Papers*, No. 15, 1980.

¹³"Murder in the Night," (Quezon City, Philippines: Tribal Filipinos Support Group, 1980).

¹⁴Richard Rollingberg, "How the Rich Get Richer," *Impact* (May, 1981), p. 177.

¹⁵Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *World Hunger: Ten Myths* (San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1980), pp. 40-43.



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— MOTIF —

The sphere is each of us and it is all of us together and it is the earth as a whole in the system/mystery that is the universe

The tree is life — our life — becoming what it can be within and dependent on the larger sphere of life.

The contrasting fluid fields of dark and light are the ancient elements: earth and water (dark), air and fire (light).

The dark and light are also the yin and yang of life. They are the opposites which cannot exist apart, and which together are an integral whole. They are the inner and outer dimensions of our humanization — of our shared present and future.

Just as the tree depends on both its rootedness in earth and water and its ability to reach and assimilate air and sunlight, so growth in the outer social order and in the inner spiritual order are both vital aspects of a more fully human future.

The bird winging from its tree home with the fruits of the tree's fulfillment is love, is liberation, is joy, is meaning, is purpose, is the interconnectedness and ongoingness of life, is hope.

